

618 9. The Hsin clan, of Monguor stock, comprised 100
175 families, settled with the Kan seventy-five miles south-
162 east of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to
the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42,
p. 54). The name of the T'u-ssu was later erased from
the list of T'u-ssu.

10. The La clan, a small group of Monguor stock.
The number of families is not recorded. The founding
ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and
was settled ~~seventy-five miles~~ southeast of Nienpei, near
the Kan clan (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, p. 54).

618 These are the sixteen groups recorded in the *Annals*
177 of Kansu, ch. 42, and in the *Annals of Hsining*, ch. 24.
They were all living in the country under the Mongol
dynasty, and submitted to the Ming. The Ch'eng and
Chi groups, in the prefecture of Hsining, and the Chao,
Yeh, and Hsin groups, in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei,
have now "become Chinese," and their chiefs have been
erased from the lists of the T'u-ssu.

The chiefs of these Shat'o and Monguor groups still
bore Mongol names when they submitted to the Ming.
After having held the office of T'u-ssu for two or three
generations, the chiefs adopted Chinese surnames and
each group then adopted the Chinese surname of its chief.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, and espe-
cially after 1723, single Tibetan families or small Ti-
betan groups were enrolled in nearly all the groups.
Still later, Chinese families were accepted in the same
way; but the Chinese did not adopt the surname of the
chief of the group.

131 The foregoing data show that the habitat of the Mon-
guors is not limited to the district of Hsining. In addi-
[101] tion, it may be noted that the mansion of Lu T'u-ssu,
of Monguor extraction, is located at Liench'eng, forty-
five miles west of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. This
large group call themselves Monguor and the Chinese
call them T'u-jen; they are neighbors of the Monguors
of Nienpei. In this one group there are no less than

• 624 seven T'u-ssu, all claiming descent from the imperial
family of the founder of the Mongol dynasty. The T'u-
ssu of Liench'eng is the head of the whole group. He
alone is regarded as the ruler of the subject people and
possessor of the territory assigned to them by the Ming
[651] dynasty. The other six T'u-ssu hold only the title,
without the powers of chieftainship. In time of war
they are bound to obey the order of the senior T'u-ssu;
and for revenue each of them is allowed to collect land
taxes from a fixed number of villages.

624 The seven T'u-ssu of this group represent seven lines
175 of descent from either the brothers or the sons of the
prince of Nanting (the *Annals of Kansu*, ch. 50, pp.
55-57, incorrectly name him prince of Wu-ting). His
ancestor was Kolgan, son of Chingis Khan by his fa-
vorite beauty, Kulan.²¹ The prince who was living in
the country at the end of the Mongol dynasty submitted

²¹ The family chronicles of this clan, which I am preparing
for publication, are referred to above.

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to the Ming dynasty in 1371 as "founding ancestor" of the present line, and received the most extensive territory of all the Monguor T'u-ssu. The group numbered, according to the *Annals of 1909*, 3,245 families totalling 21,086 persons, and was divided administratively into ten banners. After the historic revolt of the Kukuror Mongols, Tibetans, and lamas, in 1723, the T'u-ssu was rewarded for his military services with the territory and inhabitants of thirteen Tibetan villages, which had belonged to a Mongol chief of Kukuror. These thirteen villages numbered 453 families, totalling 2,365 persons, at a rate of 5.2 persons per family (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, p. 87). This group is the most outstanding among the Monguor people. Many members of these T'u-ssu families were prominent military commanders and civil officials. They wielded the largest influence in the country among the Chinese officials, and were favorably regarded by the emperors of both the Ming and Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasties.

MONGUOR POPULATION FIGURES

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The Manguor population data at the time of the Ming, taken from the *Annals of Kansu*, printed in 1909, may be summarized as follows:

- Total of families ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu, 11,000
- Families of Monguors belonging to 9 Mongol T'u-ssu, 5,627
- Families of Shat'o Monguors belonging to the 5 Shat'o T'u-ssu, 5,303
- Families of Ch'ant'ou extraction belonging to one Ch'ant'ou T'u-ssu, 70

The number of families belonging to the Monguor Lu T'u-ssu is not recorded. Taking a rate of five members per family, which seems not to be too high, the number of Monguors living in Old Huang Chung would be 55,000. Adding the 471 Tibetan families ruled by the Lu T'u-ssu and Wang T'u-ssu gives a total of 57,365 ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu.

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Striking differences in importance and strength among the clans are to be noted: the Lu clan alone ruled 3,000 families (3,246 Monguor, 453 Tibetan), and the three Shat'o Li T'u-ssu ruled 4,903 families. Then there is a sharp drop to the two Ch'i clans with 700 families each, and the remaining clans are insignificant.

It has already been noted that in each of the Monguor clans there are a few Chinese and Tibetan families, which were enrolled at different times.

EXPANSION OF THE MONGUORS OVER THE COUNTRY

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According to the *Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, p. 55, and the *Annals of Hsining*, ch. 24, p. 14b, the population of Hsining was very thin at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. The fields around the towns, irrigated by canals, were assigned to the Chinese military colonists.

618 definite number of troops, whenever required, according
175 to the size of his territory and the numbers of the population. Such appanages could be under the rule not only of families descended from the imperial clan, but of families whose "founding ancestors" were antrustions.⁵ The origin and social condition of the commoners among the Monguor clans are clearly to be explained in this manner.

It appears probable that the Monguor groups began to form in this way as early as the rule of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty. At the very beginning of the Ming dynasty we find the chiefs of all the Monguor groups submitting to Chinese rule, but we do not find any record of groups of the Monguor type being actually created by the Ming emperors. We may therefore suppose that generally speaking the Monguor commoners of today are the descendants of families who were already subject commoners in the Mongol period before the Ming dynasty, with the later addition of a number of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. As to the manner in which such later additions could be made, I have already mentioned the fact that the Lu T'u-szu received from the Manchu emperor thirteen Tibetan villages, numbering 2,365 persons to be his commoners and subjects, as a reward for military services rendered during the historical revolt of 1723 (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, p. 87).

175 The processes of clan formation thus resulted in the evolution of four kinds of clan chiefs:

- 618 1. Chiefs who, with their related nobles, claimed descent from the Mongol imperial family of the Yuan;
- 624 2. Commoners who became chiefs of clans and founded their own noble families;
3. Antrustions, individual warriors, who became chiefs of clans and founded their own noble families;
4. Chiefs of clans who submitted voluntarily to the Yuan dynasty with their nobles and commoners.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHIEFS AND NOBLES IN THE MONGUOR CLANS

175 Among the seventeen Monguor clans, two are recorded in the *Annals of Kansu* as being descended from the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty: the Ch'i clan (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, p. 35) and the Lu clan (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, p. 55). The family chronicles of the Lu clan, as already mentioned, are in my possession and I am planning to edit and publish them.

⁵ This term, taken from early European feudalism, is used in the French translation of Vladimirtsov for the Russian term *druzhinnik* which Vladimirtsov uses to translate the Mongol term *nukur*, literally, "friend." In the simplest terms, a *nukur* was a free warrior who voluntarily attached himself to the leader of a war-band, establishing a relationship of personal loyalty transcending all clan and other obligations. Some of the greatest commanders who served Chingis Khan began as *nukur*. Mongol *nukur*, Russian *drug*, "friend," whence *druzhinnik*, and Greek *xiros*, "guest-friend," all have a root meaning of "other," "foreign" (to my own clan); institutionally they share with Latin *comes*, whence the title "count," the meaning of an association formed personally, not by circumstance of birth.—O. L.

175 The Shat'o Turkish clans were already settled in the country before the invasion of the Mongols, and submitted to them when the Mongols founded the Yuan dynasty.⁶

There are no historical references available for the origin of the chiefs and the nobles of the other Monguor clans nor was I ever able to find any surviving traditions on the subject.⁷

They may have been founded by military commanders who were commoners by birth and perhaps antrustrions by career. Such founders of clans would be given subject families in reward for their services; and, as the reward would be proportionate to the services rendered, the number of families thus allocated would be larger or smaller. Since commanders had to recruit their troops among their own subjects, the number of families allocated to them as subjects was determined by their military rank. According to this reasoning the military rank of the chiefs of the smaller Monguor clans must have been low. It may be that the small clans were small at the time when they submitted to the Yuan dynasty, and that their chiefs were accordingly made military commanders of small units.

175 The influence wielded by the Shat'o group in Hsining during the Yuan dynasty must have been very important, for at the time of their submission to the Ming, Li Nan-ko held one of the highest civil offices in Hsining, that of T'ungchih, while his nephew held the office of Tutu chihhuei t'ungchih. What could have been the reason for the extraordinarily friendly feelings of the Mongols toward the Shat'o Turks?

The son of Li-K'o-yung, the famous prince of Chin, founded in China the ephemeral dynasty of the Hou T'ang, which lasted only from 923 to 936. After the overthrow of this dynasty, one branch of the Shat'o fled to the Yin-shan range, north of Suiyuan, and was later entrusted with the protection of the northwest frontiers of the Chin empire (1115-1260). These Shat'o were called the Wang-ku (Ongut) of the Yin-shan. A second branch fled to Lin-t'ao, in southern Kansu, where they were known as the Wang-ku of Lin-t'ao. These Shat'o were later transferred by the Chin to Liao-tung (Manchuria). At the beginning of the thirteenth century Alakush Tegin, chief of the Onguts of the Yin-shan, betrayed the Chin emperor and followed and aided Chingis Khan, with whom he entered into alliance in 1206. In 1209 Chingis gave his daughter Alaghi Beki to the eldest son of this Ongut chief. Ongut troops aided the Mongol general Mukhali in subduing China.⁸

⁶ Cf. *Wu tai shih chi*, ch. 74, pp. 10b, 11a; Ponapen edition.

⁷ For the founding in Kansu province of a noble family of Uighur origin, under the Yuan dynasty, see F. W. Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 in memory of prince Hindu," *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Stud.* 12 (1 & 2), 1949.—O. L.

⁸ P. Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'extrême orient, T'oung Pao* 15: 630, 1914. A. J. H. Charignon, *Le livre de Marco Polo* 1: 247-248, Peking, Nachbauer, 1924. H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan and his conquest of North China*, 114-133-139, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950.

175 But the third branch of the Shat'o² was at that time grazing its herds in the country of Huang Chung between Hsining and Kanchou. It may well be that the Mongol invaders were glad to join hands with them in 1226, and to entrust high offices on the Tibetan frontier to their chiefs. Although these Shat'o Turks held high civil offices under the Yuan, however, nothing is known about the military appointments that they held during this period.

DEVELOPMENT OF CLAN STRUCTURE

175 • 624 While each of the Monguor and Shat'o clans settled in Kansu before the founding of the Ming dynasty, the present rank of the "T'u-ssu" in each clan traces back to an appointment early in the Ming dynasty; and on the date of this appointment depends, in turn, the division of the descendants of the first T'u-ssu into Houses, each with its own property.

THE POSITION OF THE T'U-SSU

The genealogical register of each clan accordingly starts with the appointment of the first T'u-ssu. The family chronicles of the Lu T'u-ssu line start with T'o-Huan (Tögon), who was granted the title of Prince of Nanting under the Mongol emperor, but was first appointed T'u-ssu of the clan by the Ming. In the register of his genealogy are recorded only his descendants; his brothers, kinsmen, and even his parents are not mentioned. In this way he and not his father was established as the founding ancestor of the new clan. It was to him that the Ming Emperor assigned a territory; he was confirmed by the Emperor in the "possession" of his subjects, who were by the imperial decree forbidden to abandon him.

The brothers of such a founding ancestor could not lay any claim either to the possession of any piece of land inside his territory or to any group of his subjects; if they were allowed to live on his territory and received some subjects, it was merely by an act of grace on his part.

Not only does the genealogical register of each clan start with the first T'u-ssu, but at his death the Monguors started building a new cemetery in which the mound of the first T'u-ssu occupied the prominent site, thus indicating the beginning of a new order; at the mound of this founding ancestor, in the "old graveyard," as it is now called, the ancestors are venerated on the day of the yearly diet of the clan. Similarly, the image of the first T'u-ssu occupies the central place in the temple of the ancestors of the clan. All of these facts confirm that the first T'u-ssu is regarded as the founding chief and real origin of the clan.

The T'u-ssu forms a unit with his offspring who are classified as being of his "bone." The Monguor family

² According to *H'u Tai shih-chi*, ch. 74, pp. 10b, 11a, Ponape edition.

175 being based on the agnatic principle, the oldest son inherits the leadership of the clan, after the death of his father.

624 By the beginning of the present century (1911-1922), however, the T'u-ssu was no longer living in one group with his noble kinsmen; he was not the provider of all their needs, including food and clothing; he and his nobles no longer constituted a large family; and T'u-ssu and nobles were no longer living entirely at the expense of the commoners.

The nobles were by this time living in separate and distinct families, each forming an independent economic unit. Consequently some were poor and some rich. In this economic aspect, there was no longer a distinction between nobles and commoners. Noble families bought and sold land, cattle, and grain to each other and to commoners in exactly the same way, and the rise or fall of a family's fortunes depended on the industry or laziness, the good or bad fortune, of its members.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NOBLE HOUSES

175 In the inheritance of wealth among nobles, however, there is a peculiar institution to be considered. In each clan the nobles are divided into branches, called "houses."

618 In some clans there are three houses, in others four or five; in the Li clan there are thirteen. Each noble family knows the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called "the great House," the second is called the second House, and so on. Each house comprises the descendants of one of the sons of the founding ancestor of the clan who was appointed T'u-ssu at or soon after the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368. During his life, the wealth, grain, cattle, cultivated land, and money of the founding ancestor were divided among his sons. If there were three sons, the eldest by right of being the first born succeeded his father as T'u-ssu and chief of the clan; but the property of the founding ancestor was divided in three parts. The new T'u-ssu and his two brothers each inherited one part, with only the distinction that the eldest son received a somewhat larger portion of fields and cattle. The privilege of a large portion was passed on to the eldest son in each succeeding generation.¹⁰

The number of houses established according to the number of the sons of the founding ancestor has continued ever since as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify each other by houses, saying "I belong to" or "he belongs to the third House." In principle, also, the patrimony of each house was permanently established at this first division. In practice, however, if the descendants of either the great House or one of the junior houses

¹⁰ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 224, "the Mongol feudal seigneur . . . usually received his fief by inheritance and transmitted it to his son. Mongol seigneurs apportioned inheritances to their sons during their own lifetime, reserving the essential part of the heritage to the eldest son, after their death." The old custom of preserving the principal fief of the father for the youngest son had disappeared by the time of the Yuan dynasty.

618 grew numerous they could subdivide the patrimony;
175 the new subdivisions would then continue as independent households or families responsible to each other in vicissitudes of wealth or poverty.

In Monguor society since the Ming, only the T'u-ssu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of the commoners. None of the houses disposed of commoners as subjects. It is quite clear, however, that in former times among the nomads each group of nobles was a real possessor of subjects. Subjects and territory were regarded as assigned to the clan by the emperor and were understood to belong to the whole clan and not to the chief alone. Accordingly, when a noble was at odds with the clan, he could leave it, taking with him his portion of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or found a new clan. In this way it often happened that when clans were at war with each other, there would be subgroups in each of them that belonged to the same "bone," although they were engaged in killing each other.¹¹

The idea of the collective "ownership," by the blood-related noble families, of the subject commoners persists more strongly under a nomad economy, for obvious reasons, than it does under an agricultural economy, but memories of it persist among nomads who have become farmers. This concept seems to have prevailed among the Shat'o, who before the Ming dynasty were already divided into two groups, one of 4,000 families and one of 963 families. The chiefs of each of these groups were made T'u-ssu. Later, at the end of the Ming dynasty, the T'u-ssu Li Hua-lung of the line of Li Nan-ko died without issue and troubles broke out over the succession. The Manchu empire appointed a claimant named Li T'ien-yu as T'u-ssu, but allowed the troublesome pretender Li Hua-nao to take 100 families from the 4,000-family group, and granted him a separate title of T'u-ssu (*Annals of Hsining*, ch. 24, p. 8).

Trouble among the noble families of the Lu clan seems also to have been the reason why six members of this clan were created T'u-ssu (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 52, pp. 58-59). The craving for subjects, based on the old custom, seems to have been the cause of these troubles, although the *Annals* gloss over the matter, as is often done in Chinese chronicles to "save face," by allowing it to be understood that each of the six new T'u-ssu had deserved his appointment through meritorious service on the Tibetan frontier.

624 The same lingering tradition that the nobles had or
175 ought to have a right to dispose of a number of subjects may account for the fact that, in lieu of a division of subject commoners among the sons of a founding ancestor, each of the houses was assigned the land tax revenue of a fixed number of villages of commoners. This meant that when the patrimony of the founding ancestor was divided, the land taxes of the villages followed the division of the inheritance. Here again the

¹¹ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 79.

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eldest son, succeeding as the new T'u-ssu by right of being the first born, had a distinguishing privilege. The land taxes due to him (in the form of grain) had to be brought to his mansion, while the junior houses had themselves to collect the taxes from the villages assigned to them.

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At the beginning of the Ming dynasty, when the houses were first established, the tax revenues must have provided a comfortable living for each house, and it is probable that they needed no other income to live at leisure, at the expense of the commoners. After a few generations, however, as the descendants of each house became more and more numerous, the collection of taxes became increasingly a problem. Divided and subdivided claims to a share of the revenue became insufficient to maintain the claimant families, and were inevitably the cause of quarrels and feuds. In the end, claims to the right to collect subdivided fractions of the land tax became chronic sources of trouble not only among the families constituting the house, but between them and the commoners from whom the revenue was collected.

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In some houses the constituent families agree with each other to take turns collecting the available revenue, but this leads to disputes every year and sometimes to fierce fighting. It is not unknown for two or three families to go to the villages, trying to collect the land taxes in competition with each other. When this happens, the villagers are angered and demand that the families who lay claim to revenue patch up their quarrels and adjust their claims before the villagers open their granaries. Those who claim a right to collect revenue, on the other hand, resort to various kinds of deceit in trying to extort more from the villages and to get more than the legal or customary amount. In such problems and quarrels the T'u-ssu himself is involved because by tradition it is he and not the houses who fixes the rates at which levies are collected.

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The sources of income of a T'u-ssu are more varied than those of a noble house. The T'u-ssu collects the land taxes in the villages which form the portion of his own house, and in addition collects a number of special taxes which provide his personal revenue. Most of these taxes are collected from Chinese living or trading within his territory. When Monguors who belong to his clan buy livestock, wool, skins, or grain they do not pay a tax on the transaction. On such transactions the Chinese, however, do pay a tax, and so do Monguors of other clans when they engage in such transactions within the territory of the T'u-ssu. Chinese shopkeepers, blacksmiths, and innkeepers living within the clan territory pay taxes. Imposts are levied on rafts and boats on rivers running through the clan territory. At the diets or clan assemblies, and at festivals at Lama monasteries in the clan territory, taxes are collected from Chinese merchants. Payments must also be made for the registration of title deeds to land and houses, and

624 taxes are collected from Chinese who graze their herds
651 on the clan territory. When the Tu-ssu sitting in
563 judgment settles a quarrel, he collects a payment. He
also expects gifts in cash when he makes his triennial
visit to the villages and on the occasion of funerals and
marriages.

As opposed to these sources of personal revenue, the
Tu-ssu has very few administrative expenses because
most administration is carried on through the obligatory
services of clan members. The few Chinese secretaries
who are employed receive instead of salary the allocation
of fields which they are allowed to farm without
paying land taxes. Since there are no schools, there is
no budget for education, nor is there any expenditure
for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of
administrative buildings because all such work is done
through the levying of obligatory labor. Monguor car-
penters, bricklayers, and other artisans, in addition to
unskilled labor, being available through the institution of
obligatory labor services (corvée). Since each village
has to provide a fixed number of soldiers, with their
full equipment, uniforms, weapons, horses, tents, food,
etc., there is no budget for military expenses.

THE CHIEF OF THE CLAN

624 The description of the composition of the clan that has
618 been given in the preceding pages raises by implication
the problem of the origin and evolution of the clan chief.

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE CLAN CHIEF INSTITUTION

The clan chief is *not an essential element* of the clan.
Vladimirtsov,¹² drawing on the Mongol *Secret History*
and other chronicle material, demonstrates that, in
periods when the pastoral tribes of Mongolia were not
unified in large groups under powerful clans, it was
quite common to find clans without a regular hereditary
aristocracy, led simply by self-constituted chiefs who
were heads of families. By way of comparison, it may
be noted that most of the small Tibetan tribes of the
Hsining region have no aristocracy of chiefs, but are
ruled by a sort of council of the heads of families.

The historical and comparative material makes it
clear that in clan societies without hereditary chiefs lead-
ers may be designated temporarily and for specific pur-
poses, such as the organization of community hunting
drives, raids on other tribes, or defense against raiders.
Leadership in such cases may be influenced by, but not
solely determined by, seniority in the clan. It may also
be influenced by the personal characteristics of resource-
fulness or aggressiveness in the man who becomes a
leader, or by the number of his relatives and friends
and the degree to which they are respected in the com-
munity, and, therefore, it may be said that such leader-
ship simultaneously carries a tinge of usurpation by the

¹² *Op. cit.*, 93.

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618 individual and a tinge of election or delegation by those whom he leads. To the extent that this kind of leadership is not a well-defined institution, it is not surprising to find that the authority of the leader can be contested and that those who do not accept his leadership may leave the clan either to join other clans or to found a new clan.

There is an inherent tendency for such temporary leadership to become institutionalized and hereditary when a leader of commanding personality succeeds in providing his clan with booty and vassals, and lives long enough to prepare the way for a son to succeed him. Permanent and hereditary chiefs may, however, also be imposed by a conquerer. In the case of the Monguors, the new Mongol empire that resulted from the Mongol conquests was powerful enough to assign fixed territories to the Monguor clans and to designate hereditary ruling chiefs, so that chieftanship had already become hereditary and aristocratic. This view is supported by the fact that when the Mongol Empire was overthrown and the Ming dynasty established in 1368, there were no less than seventeen chiefs of Monguor and Shat'o clans who were able to offer their allegiance to the Ming emperor as chiefs whose authority, territory, and subject following were locally recognized.

As the institution of hereditary chief was established or reestablished under the Ming, with the specific title of T'u-ssu, it is clear that it had conserved its social as well as its political and military characteristics, and so in the status and functions of the chief of a clan a number of aspects are to be discerned.

By virtue of his birth in the clan, the clan chief presides over the cult aspects of religion in the clan. He is the chief figure in ceremonies venerating the ancestors; he is the guardian of the genealogical register; he also heads the cult of the guardian deity of the clan, whose temple is maintained in his mansion. He is also the ruler of his clan according to the laws of succession recognized within the clan, and at the same time under the Ming dynasty, the Manchu dynasty and the Chinese Republic, he was, by appointment of the overlord state, the ruler of both the clan and its territory. In all these capacities it was his duty to act as chief of the nobles and lord of the commoners, to preside over the meetings of elders, to adjudicate quarrels, to protect his subjects against infringements on their rights and privileges, and to command the armed forces of the clan in time of war.

RULES OF SUCCESSION OF THE CLAN CHIEF

In the rules of succession to the position of chief, although the office of chief of a clan is not open to competition, there are in fact elements of heredity, of choice or selection, of the consent of the governed, and of appointment by the overlord. A man does not become chief because he has held previous high office, because he has a commanding personality, or because he is a popular leader. Nor can he usurp the leadership

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because he is backed by a group of friends. He succeeds to office according to certain definite customs of the clan.

The chief must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestor." When a T'u-ssu dies, the heads of all the noble families, together with the most prominent heads of families among the commoners, convene to choose a successor. It may seem anomalous that commoners should take part in the choosing of a new chief. The way in which the lower status of commoners in the ceremonial veneration of the clan ancestor is emphasized has already been described. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles that can never be completely eliminated. Nevertheless, in the last years of the history of the old Monguor society the differences between nobles and commoners had in many ways practically ceased to exist. The heads of prominent commoner families took part in all meetings at which clan affairs were discussed. In the Monguor clans, there were commoners who were wealthier, more learned, more honored in the community, and more proficient in administrative matters than many of the nobles. It even occurred that when there were quarrels among the nobles, distinguished and respected commoners were called in to mediate. It may be, therefore, either that the participation of commoners in the choice of the new chief represents no more than a condescension on the part of the nobles, for the sake of mere civility, or that there is a lingering tradition from the ancient times of tribal history, that the choice of the ruling part of the tribe (now the Monguor clan) must be ratified by the consent of the governed part of the tribe.¹²

Examination of the lists of the genealogies of all the Monguor clans as they are recorded in the *Annals* of the Prefecture of Hsining suggests the conclusion that the first son of the first wife of the T'u-ssu regularly succeeded to the office of his father. If the senior son died before his father but left a living son, then this son was entitled to the succession even if he were only an adopted son. In case the senior son died before his father and left no male issue, however, the next senior brother of the T'u-ssu, or that brother's son, was entitled to the succession. In the family chronicles of the Lu clan I have found one exception to this rule, and only one, a case in which the first son of the first wife did not succeed, the succession going instead to the brother next senior to him. I shall deal with this instance in the study of the genealogy of this clan which I am preparing for publication.

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When a T'u-ssu dies leaving no sons, trouble usually breaks out in the clan because each of the surviving brothers of the T'u-ssu is eager to secure the succession either for himself or for his own eldest son. In such cases, if one of the contending brothers has more influence in the community than the others, or is richer or more popular with the clan, he succeeds in getting his

¹² Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 100.

796 the clan. The whole clan, he says, is happy to express
618 its obedience and its willingness to help and serve him;
the clan hopes that he may be as glorious a chief as his
ancestors of old in defending the clan and its component
families.

The new clan chief first kneels down and bows nine
times to his maternal uncle; then the noble members of
the clan of generations senior to that of the new chief
stand in line before him, salute him reverently three
times, and join hands. The new chief, at the command
of the master of ceremonies, then kneels down and bows
nine times to them, touching the earth with his forehead
at each bow.

The noble clan members who are of the same genera-
tion as the new chief then line up, kneel down, and (again
at the command of the master of ceremonies) reverently
bow their heads nine times to the earth before their new
chief, after which the new chief acknowledges their
homage by greeting them in the same way. Finally, the
members of generations younger than that of the new
chief perform the ceremony, but this time the new chief
makes acknowledgment only by a standing bow, not by
kneeling and bowing his head to the earth. Finally the
whole group of commoners and officials kneel down and
bow nine times to the bowing T'u-ssu. The whole group
then goes to the hall of the ancestors, where paper and
incense are burned by the newly appointed chief. Those
present bow their heads reverently while standing in
rows according to their rank and generation, in time
with the command of the master of ceremonies. The
ancestors are thus supposed to have received the an-
nouncement of the appointment of the new chief. Then
all go to the temple of the guardian deity of the clan.

As I shall discuss the importance of the maternal uncle
in Monguor society in a later chapter, I shall here make
only a brief comment on the fact that at the significant
moment when, in a society organized on a patrilineal
family system, the eldest son of the first wife succeeds to
office as the chief of the clan, it is his maternal uncle
who has the place of honor. The occasion being one in
which ancient customs are likely to be preserved, we
are entitled to assume that the importance of the maternal
uncle goes very far back in the history of Monguor
society.

THE CLAN CHIEF BECOMES A CHINESE OFFICIAL

624 The chief of the clan must next be considered in his
175 function as T'u-ssu, an office that he holds by the ap-
pointment of the sovereign state of which the Monguor
618 clans are quasi-feudal frontier dependents. Under the
Mongol Empire, the Monguors were entitled to consider
themselves kinsmen of the Mongol rulers of China.
When the Mongol Empire fell and the Chinese Ming
dynasty was established, the Monguor chiefs who sub-
mitted to it did so as the result of a decision of supreme
importance; by adhering to the Ming dynasty they
renounced the alternative of retreating into Inner Asia

624 with other Mongol tribes, denounced in effect their ties
175 of tribal loyalty to other Mongols, and declared their
618 willingness to serve as feudal subordinates guarding the
Chinese frontier against the inroads of Mongols,
Tibetans, or other "outer barbarians." When the Ming
dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-ssu, they
ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became Chinese
officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were
modified by their duty to the Chinese emperor.

THE T'U-SSU INSTITUTION

The institution of T'u-ssu or "local chief" was one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal groups on the frontier of the Empire. The first historical record of an institution comparable to that of T'u-ssu is to be found in the institution of the Chimichou, under the T'ang dynasty (618-906). Under this institution the T'ang dynasty organized "barbarian" subject tribes in "circumscriptions" ruled by hereditary native chiefs who received investiture from the emperor.¹⁶ The institution of T'u-ssu was known under the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, was reorganized and given its definite form under the Ming dynasty, and was continued under the Manchu dynasty. It survived under the Chinese Republic.

As an institution, the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal, non-Chinese peoples, attached to but not yet absorbed into the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that of China as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native chief" and as Chinese official.

CHOICE OF CLAN CHIEF RATIFIED BY EMPEROR

624 The choosing of a new chief by the clan itself has
648 already been described. This choice had then to be
ratified. This was done through the administrative
office of the T'u-ssu, acting as a bureaucratic office and not as the personal office of the T'u-ssu, which sent an official notice of the death of the previous T'u-ssu to the governor of the Province, to be forwarded to the capital at Peking, giving the day, hour, and circumstances of the death of the T'u-ssu. At the same time a petition was sent, through the same channels, imploring the emperor to appoint to the office of T'u-ssu the man whom the clan had selected as its new chief. In the event that the new chief of the clan was a minor, the petition requested that his mother be appointed regent. The emperor, granting the petition, then appointed the new clan chief to the office of T'u-ssu (or, if the son were a minor, appointed his mother as regent). The mother's regency ended when the son married or when he reached the age

¹⁶ P. Pelliot, *Bulletin de l'école Française d'extrême Orient*, 1125, 1904. Leng Shun-Sheng, T'u-ssu chi tu, in *Frontier affairs* (*Pien cheng Kunglün*) 3 (2): 11-12, 1944.

624 of sixteen. In 1916 I was present to congratulate the
648 young T'u-ssu of the clan of Lu of Liench'eng when he
assumed office after his mother had acted as regent for
eight years.

The custom of entrusting the regency to the mother is an old Mongol tradition,¹⁷ which the Ming dynasty recognized and took over. It should be noted that the Ming dynasty, though in its early years it was strong enough to conduct campaigns far afield in Mongolia, never had a firm control of the Mongolian and Inner Asian frontier as a whole. It was, therefore, well pleased when any Mongol tribes submitted of their own free will and was glad to make concessions in the way of recognizing their tribal institutions.

INVESTITURE OF THE T'U-SSU: CEREMONY DIPLOMA, AND SEAL

624 When a T'u-ssu received his Imperial appointment,
648 he was granted a diploma and seal. Only three Mongol
T'u-ssu, those of the Lu, Li, and Ch'i clans, received
796 a seal worked in brass, because of the merits of their
ancestors in defending the empire against Mongol and
Tibetan inroads and rebellious Muslims. The other
T'u-ssu were granted a seal worked in wood.¹⁸ These
seals, under the Manchu dynasty, were engraved with
Chinese and Manchu inscriptions (*Annals of Kansu*, ch.
42, p. 39).

It was the receipt of the diploma and the custody of the seal, equivalent to personal investiture by the emperor, that conferred on the T'u-ssu the power to exercise his functions. On the one hand they symbolized his subjection to the overlord state; on the other hand they symbolized the delegation, by the sovereign overlord, of the power to rule in the territory allocated to the custodian of the seal.

The receipt of the diploma and seal was, therefore, considered the most important moment in the life of the T'u-ssu, and an honor not only to him personally but to the whole clan. The receipt of the diploma and the consignment of the seal into the hands of the T'u-ssu were, therefore, the occasion for a celebration in which the whole clan joyfully took part, willingly contributing money and time in order to make possible a display of pomp and magnificence. The whole clan was in fact called into active service. Each village, according to its importance, was assessed for a contribution of a definite number of sheep, pigs, chickens, and a cow, all of which had to be delivered to the mansion of the chief. Each village was also assessed a certain amount of wheat, a fixed sum of money, and was required to make a

¹⁷ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 67, 68. "Widows with minor children had autocratic power over the possessions of the family until their sons had grown up and married; consequently they took the place of their husbands in all respects and enjoyed their rights."

¹⁸ Seals of higher ranks were carved in jade, gold, silver, etc., indicating that even the highest of the Monguor T'u-ssu were regarded as relatively petty feudatories.—O. L. [P. 46b]



FIG. 2 Li Tu-ssu and his wife. Taken at his home in Hsining in 1914. According to Li Tu-ssu, he and his wife are wearing the costumes given to his ancestor by the Emperor Shih-Tsung (Yung Cheng period, 1723-35), of the Manchu dynasty, after the victorious campaign against Lobtsang Danzan in 1723, in which this ancestor took an active part on the side of the emperor. The costumes are reverently preserved in the family. It was customary, when a man received such a costume, to present his wife with a costume matching his in its symbols of rank and dignity.

624 contribution, on loan, of kettles, bowls, chop sticks, and all kinds of utensils.¹⁹

648 A number of young folk, determined by protocol, were
796 summoned from each village to pitch tents in the precincts of the T'u-ssu's mansion, to build small temporary kitchens, to slaughter animals, cook food, serve, grind wheat, chop wood, carry fuel and water, whitewash the whole mansion, and repair the walks and paths in the courtyards of the mansion. Everyone working was fed by his own village. The chiefs of the groups of nobles, and of the villages, were bound to supervise all the preliminary arrangements, and when the actual day of the investiture arrived, they had to attend the ceremony in full official dress and help to entertain the guests.

The Monguor troops were called out in full levy, clad in brand new uniforms which had been sewed by the village women and paid for by the villagers. In addition to neighboring T'u-ssu, the most important Chinese civil and military officials of the prefecture were invited to take part in the celebration. In the old days, before Hsining had become a separate province, a prominent official was sent from Lanchou, capital of the province

¹⁹ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 148, notes the requisitioning of food from the common people for the nobles in Mongolia at and after the time of Chingis Khan. The term for these requisitions is *shüün* (*shüün*), meaning "ration," "provision." [p. 47a]

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of Kansu, go convey to the T'u-ssu the diploma and seal sent from Peking. For the use of a group of nobles and officials of the T'u-ssu administration a number of the best horses were requisitioned from the Monguor community, equipped with fine saddles and bridles, tassels of red yak hair, and necklaces of small bells. Mounted on these, and escorted by Monguor soldiers, they rode out a long distance beyond the T'u-ssu's village to meet and welcome the official bringing the diploma and seal, who ranked as a delegate from the government at Peking.

At the gate of the T'u-ssu's village or little town a procession was formed. The diploma and seal were displayed on a large silver dish and carried in majesty in a sedan chair, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, standard bearers, and men setting off fire crackers, to the mansion of the T'u-ssu. On the raised platform or porch at the entrance to his mansion the T'u-ssu, surrounded by his oldest nobles, the most distinguished commoners, and all the important guests, knelt to receive the precious diploma and seal presented to him by the delegate. At the command of the master of ceremonies, he clasped his hands and bowed nine times. Kneeling and bowing nine times, the forehead touching the ground each time, is regarded as the homage (*homagium*) or act of fealty of the vassal to his lord.²⁰

The newly-invested T'u-ssu then accepted the congratulations of those present and went to the temple of his ancestors, followed by the members of the clan who, ranged in rows according to precedence by generation, joined him in venerating the ancestors, burning incense, kneeling, and bowing, all at the commands of the master of ceremonies. In this way the happy event was announced to the ancestors.

All then went immediately to the other temple within the mansion where the guardian deity (a lamaistic deity) is honored. Again incense was burned and the other ceremonies were performed by the whole group to invoke the protection and blessings of the deity. All then returned to the mansion, in order to take part in the official reception and the presentation of the guests. Each guest offered his congratulations and presented his gifts, consisting usually of inscriptions written by outstanding Chinese calligraphers on silk or satin scrolls, paintings on silk by Chinese artists, or, in recent times, the "western innovation" of small silver shields with engraved inscriptions. The inscriptions convey congratulations, good wishes, or record a commemoration of the happy event.

The nobles of the clan then made their submission to the T'u-ssu, kneeling and bowing nine times, forehead to the ground, at the command of the master of ceremonies, and offering congratulatory scrolls and a sum

²⁰ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 130, describes the "act of submission" of a vassal in the Mongol empire founded by Chingis Khan in comparable terms, and notes that in feudal Russia, as among the Mongols (and, he might have added, among the Chinese), the kneeling vassal was required to bow until his forehead touched the ground.

624 of money fixed by old tradition. Following them the
 648 delegates of each village, one after the other, and the
 796 officials of the T'u-ssu's own administration went
 through the same ceremony. If the mother of the
 T'u-ssu was still alive, she also received scrolls and a
 gift of money from each group.

During this long ceremony the musicians played and
 firecrackers were set off. A banquet then began, follow-
 ing the Chinese protocol with presentation of cups and
 chopsticks to the guests. During the banquet a Chinese
 theatrical troupe played selected acts from traditional
 Chinese plays or operas; it was a special courtesy to
 ask a guest to select something from the repertory.
 Songs were also sung—usually Tibetan, not Monguor
 songs—by the best Monguor singers. Banquets were
 held in the afternoon for three or four days running, at-
 tended by three or four hundred guests. These ban-
 quets were preceded in the morning by the traditional
 Mongol sports of horse racing and wrestling.

When, at the end of the celebrations, the delegate who
 brought the diploma and seal returned to Lanchou or to
 Peking, he was presented with a couple of fine mules
 and one of the best and fastest horses in the country;
 together with a substantial gift of money. His at-
 tendants were also given presents according to their
 rank. These presents were called "The money of the
 sweat of the horses."²¹

The investiture and festival were an expensive burden
 on the whole clan and on the T'u-ssu personally. As an
 example, in the small clan of Chao, consisting of only
 140 families, most of them poor, the young man who
 succeeded to the title of T'u-ssu inherited from his
 father, an opium addict and gambler, only a burden of
 insoluble debts, in addition to the old tradition of a
 glorious past. The funds of the family being depleted,
 and the subjects not being able to afford the expenses
 of the investiture, the young heir lost his appointment
 and his privileges, and his people became ordinary
 Chinese subjects, bound thenceforth to pay their taxes
 directly to the Chinese administration. But since in
 China it is always possible to reach a compromise, the
 young T'u-ssu, though not invested with official rank,
 was allowed to collect the taxes from his former subjects
 on behalf of the Chinese administration, and thus he was
 still able to make a living.

Throughout the Orient the seal is regarded with a
 special veneration. It may indeed be said to be the sub-
 ject of a special cult. An emperor who lost his seal
 would certainly lose his empire. The loss of the
 imperial seal has always been considered by the Chinese

²¹ To put the servants of the Son of Heaven to trouble was to
 "cause the horses to sweat." Thus Cleaves, *op. cit.*, 26, notes
 that, in an inscription, an ancestor is praised because he advised
 his Uighur ruler to submit to Chingis: "... by submitting
 gracefully without causing the men of the Suu-tu ("fortunate")
 Chinggis qayan to suffer and without causing his geldings to
 sweat..."—O. L.

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historians as a sign that "heaven" removes its mandate from the emperor. When the imperial seal of the T'ang in 936, the fact was thus explained. In China, under the old order, the seals of officials were always entrusted to their wives, who kept them with their jewelry and asked from their husbands a small sum each time that the seal was taken out to be stamped on an official document. The accumulation of these small sums constituted the savings of the wives of officials. The Monguors took over this custom from the Chinese.

In 1908, three years before the end of the Manchu empire, the T'u-ssu of the Li clan (of Shat'o origin) lost two thousand dollars at gambling. Having no money to pay his debt, harassed day and night by his creditors, he placed his seal of office in their hands as security. This T'u-ssu was the son of the deceased first wife of his father. He had a half-brother whose mother was the second wife of the previous T'u-ssu. This woman paid the gambling debt and thus got possession of the seal, charging a small sum every time that she produced it for the stamping of a document. When she died, her son got possession of the seal, and used it as authority to collect the regular traditional contributions that are expected from the subjects of the clan to pay for the funeral of the wife of a T'u-ssu. By doing this he strengthened his position, because in China, according to classical principles, the person who conducts the funeral is considered to be the lawful heir. Having in this way created the precedent of actually exercising a degree of authority over the subjects of the clan, and having the seal in his possession, it was his intention to make an accusation against his half-brother, on the grounds of misconduct, and to have himself installed as T'u-ssu.

To forestall this move, the gambling T'u-ssu called together the elders of the clan, both noble and non-noble, and also invited three neighboring T'u-ssu to arbitrate the quarrel and get him out of his appalling situation. The meetings went on for many days. The T'u-ssu was bitterly reproached, humiliated, and dressed down. He had to ask pardon for having transgressed the limits of official convention, thus dishonoring his ancestors and his clan. All this time his half-brother, fortified by actual possession of the seal, stoutly defended his right to become T'u-ssu.

The meeting finally came to the decision that the half-brother should give back the seal to the senior brother, but that in compensation he should be allowed to collect the taxes from four villages subject to his brother, and that his descendants should enjoy this privilege in perpetuity. This drastic solution is to be explained only by the old Oriental belief that the man who is in possession of the seal comes into possession also of the powers, rights, and privileges invested in the seal.

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The "locking" and "opening" of the seal emphasized its ritual importance. Every year, as the year drew to an end, on an auspicious day chosen about the twentieth of the twelfth month, it used to be the custom to "lock up" the seals of all Chinese officials. This signified that the officials were taking a vacation and that administrative matters would not be acted on again until after the New Year. The Monguors took over this practice. At the "locking up" of the seal, they invited their officials for dinner, and then all went home.

Soon after the fifteenth of the first moon, an auspicious day was chosen for the "opening of the seal." All officials under the T'u-ssu were required to attend the ceremony, together with the chiefs of villages and the most prominent members of the clan. Disposed in rows, they made the ceremonial prostration nine times before the seal and went to the ancestral temple and the temple of the guardian deity to honor them and to invoke their protection during the new year. An important meeting then followed at which administrative matters were discussed, and this meeting was in turn followed by a dinner. Ordinary routine was then resumed. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, as described by Father Mostaert,²² a still great reverence is attached to the seal. It is treated as a cult object held in veneration throughout the year, locked in a special ornamented case in the palace of the prince of the Banner, with a lamp burning before it day and night. The opening of the seal is carried out in a more ceremonial manner than among the Monguors. A traditional speech is given by one of the most distinguished officials before the ceremony of veneration is carried out by those present.

ROLE OF CLAN CHIEF AS CHINESE OFFICIAL

WARDEN OF THE MARCHES

175 As a vassal of the overlord state in China, the T'u-ssu has the function of a warden of the marches. When the Mongol dynasty fell in 1368, it was already rotten at the core and torn apart by struggles between internal factions. Knowing that all hope for the restoration of a Mongol dynasty was lost, most of the chiefs of Mongol tribes living in Kansu submitted to the Chinese generals who led the Ming armies into this strategic province bordering on Tibet, Central Asia, and Mongolia. The Chinese, for their part, resorted to the policy, familiar to them for some two thousand years, of using barbarian vassals along the frontier as a screen against more remote barbarians.²³ They accordingly granted titles to the chiefs of the tribes that submitted, in order to make use of them in defense against the still hostile

²² A. Mostaert, "L'ouverture du sceau" et les adresses chez les Ordos, *Monumenta Serica* 1, Fasc. 2: 315, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1935.

²³ The relationship between "inner frontier" and "outer frontier" has been described by Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 86, 238-251, 2nd ed., New York, American Geog. Soc., 1951.

175 clan with his four thousand families were stationed to guard the mountain passes between the Yellow River and the Hsing River, with the T'u-ssu of the Ah clan and his 150 families to the east of them (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, pp. 48a-50b). On the southern side, between the mountains and the Yellow River there were six T'u-ssu, those of the Wang, Chou, Yeh, Li Hua-nao, Hsin, and La clans, with a total of 632 families, guarding several passes and the boat ferry across the Yellow River (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, pp. 51a, 52-54, 57). In the mountains on the north of Nienpei the Ch'i and Chao T'u-ssu with a total of 820 families guarded four important passes (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, pp. 46b, 49b).

The country thus described forms a strategic triangle between P'ingfan, Lanchou, and Nienpei which is the key to the frontier between Kansu province and the Mongolian plateau, through the natural depression which separated the Nan Shan from the Yin Shan. Its importance was recognized as early as the first Han dynasty (202 B.C.-A.D. 8), when the Chinese occupied it in order to prevent the Hsiungnu in Mongolia, the ancestors of the Huns, from joining hands with the Ch'iang or early Tibetan tribes in Kansu. During the Ming dynasty, Mongol tribes from Alashan and the Ordos, invading Tibet by way of Kukuonor, usually forced their passage through this country. Because the ancestors of the T'u-ssu of the Lu clan had already settled in this country under the Mongol dynasty, the Ming dynasty assigned it to the Lu clan, which with its 3,245 families became the guardian of the eight passes in the mountain range called Chitzeshan and the ferry passage across the important Tat'ung River. Their villages were scattered throughout this territory (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, p. 58a).

While the Monguors were thus allocated to the valleys leading up to the frontier passes, the Chinese planted colonies of their own people in the vicinity of the main towns. Thus the situation was one in which the Chinese colonies depended for their safety on the loyalty of the Monguors, and the authorities accordingly treated the Monguor T'u-ssu as important people and favored subjects.

GUARDIAN OF THE PEACE IN HIS TERRITORY

624 • The T'u-ssu, though a subordinate official of the Chinese overlord state, was treated as a petty sovereign
175 in his own territory, not to be interfered with by Chinese
648 officials in the administration of his hereditary subjects. Except for capital punishment, the T'u-ssu governed his people according to Monguor custom. His vassal status, however, was shown by the fact that he could be called to account if his administration was unsatisfactory. The T'u-ssu was responsible for maintenance of his own troops, and was expected not only to take the initiative in stopping raids from across the border, but to suppress banditry. He was responsible for the security of the roads passing through his territory and

624 could be held to account for the murder of any traveler
175 on these roads. Under the Yung Cheng reign of the
648 Manchu dynasty, the important monastery of Erhkulung,
in the territory of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, joined in the great
insurrection of 1723. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was punished
for failing to control the insurgent monks. His subjects
were taken away from him and inscribed on the register
of Chinese subjects under direct Chinese administration,
his territory was confiscated, and he was deprived of his
rank. A large number of his subjects, however, revolted
against the Chinese and joined the insurrection which
was still going on. The Chinese authorities therefore
compromised. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was asked to summon
his subjects back to their allegiance, and was promised
that his forfeited rights and privileges would be restored
if he succeeded. The promise was carried out and he
was in fact reinstated as T'u-ssu when he contributed
to the suppression of the insurrection by bringing his
subjects back under control.

651 In connection with this recorded historical incident
648 there may be cited a tradition concerning an ancestor
173 of the T'u-ssu of the Li clan, who was condemned to
624 have his head cut off, his territory confiscated, and his
subjects brought under direct Chinese jurisdiction, for
failing to crush a revolt. Other T'u-ssu intervened on
his behalf, however, because of the meritorious services
rendered to the empire by his ancestors, capital punishment
was commuted, and he and his descendants were
instead to be required to pay in perpetuity a tax called
ch'iu liang, "the tax of supplication." After one or
two years, however, according to the tradition, the
humiliating word "supplication" was replaced by the
Chinese character meaning "autumn" which is also
pronounced *ch'iu*, as a "face-saving" concession. The
tradition is supported by the statement in the *Annals* of
Hsining (ch. 16, p. 5a) that a special "autumnal tax"
was yearly collected from the Li T'u-ssu, but the Li
T'u-ssu and his subjects explain away the whole matter
by saying that at some time in the past, when the
Chinese officials were in difficulties because of in-
surrections, and were short of grain and flour, the Li
T'u-ssu of that time, recalling the favors bestowed on
his ancestors for centuries past, magnanimously and
voluntarily offered to pay this perpetual "autumn tax."
Thus the clan has its own "face-saving" version of the
tradition.

EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

651 The emperor, as overlord, had a special interest in
648 the fact that the Monguor troops required neither pay,
624 provisions, nor weapons, but were maintained com-
701 pletely at the expense of their own clans. As compensa-
tion, the Chinese officials were not allowed to impose
land taxes on the Monguors or to requisition labor
services from them. The Monguor soldier, since he was
considered to be perpetually on frontier duty, could not
also be requisitioned for labor; nor could he be drafted

651 into the Chinese army. In order to keep up the
648 Monguor military strength, the emperor did not allow
624 subjects of the clan to abandon their T'u-ssu, and the
701 Chinese officials were ordered to help the T'u-ssu in
recovering any subjects who had left their territories.
The overlord state thus confirmed the clan rule of the
Monguors that the subjects of the clan "belonged" to the
chief. While in later times Monguors farming land in
territory under direct Chinese administration were re-
quired to pay the land tax, they were still exempt from
the corvée of forced labor.

651 In the administration of the law, relations between
648 Monguors and Chinese were "extraterritorial." When
624 a Chinese accused a Monguor, the summons had to be
sent to the T'u-ssu, who alone could order his subject
to appear at the Chinese court. Chinese allowed by a
T'u-ssu to settle in his territory became his subjects,
liable to Monguor land taxes, military service, and cor-
vées. Monguor lawsuits had to be brought before the
T'u-ssu and his officials. If a Monguor did not agree
with the verdict of the T'u-ssu, however, he was allowed
to appeal to the Chinese high court; but this right was
more theoretical than practical, because the Chinese
official, considering the T'u-ssu as a fellow-official, and
also not unmindful of presents at New Year and at the
four seasons, regularly confirmed the verdict of the
T'u-ssu.

When Chinese officials, representing the overlord state,
traveled through the territory of a T'u-ssu, roads and
bridges had to be put in repair. Similarly, when Chinese
troops passing through the territory of a T'u-ssu had
to cross a river, the Monguors were required to provide
the necessary rafts and boats.

TAXES UPON T'U-SSU AND THEIR SALARY

Under the Ming dynasty, except for the "autumn tax"
on the Li T'u-ssu, which has already been mentioned, no
taxes were imposed on a T'u-ssu. In this respect there
was a marked difference between the T'u-ssu and the
chiefs of many Tibetan and Mongol tribes who were
required to bring every year, or once in a term of years,
a fixed tribute of horses or other products of their
territories. The difference is accounted for by the fact
that a tribute-paying chief and his subjects were not,
like a T'u-ssu and his clan, considered to be on
permanent military service.

Under the Manchu dynasty, however, the *Annals of*
Kansu record that twelve out of the seventeen T'u-ssu
were required to pay land tax. The five that were ex-
empt were the five most influential and powerful: the
Lu (3,245 families); two Ch'i (800 and 700 families);
two Li (4,000 and 960 families), and Wang (150 fam-
ilies). It is possible that these T'u-ssu were exempt
from the tax either because of services rendered during
the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 or simply because they
were powerful and the Chinese were afraid to impose a
tax on them for fear they would revolt. The tax im-

[p. 51a]

651 posed on a T'u-ssu was imposed on him personally. He
648 passed it on by making levies on his subjects, but in
the Chinese.

624 In his capacity as a Chinese official, the T'u-ssu was
entitled to receive an emolument; but for unknown reasons
this stipend was extremely irregular. Seven T'u-
ssu received none at all, and of the others the Ch'i T'u-
ssu of Hsining received the highest emolument, 146.88
ounces of silver. Next to him came the Lu T'u-ssu with
76.6 ounces. Five others received 50 ounces a year, and
the remainder only 40 ounces.²⁴

TRIPS OF T'U-SSU TO PEKING

648 The difference between a Monguor T'u-ssu and a
tribute-paying chief has been mentioned. Like a T'u-
624 ssu, the tribute-paying chief received a diploma and a
seal. Unlike a T'u-ssu, he was required to offer tribute
at stated intervals, and the most important privilege
enjoyed by him and his people was that of admission
to the frontier markets. A Monguor T'u-ssu was not
bound to report in person to the capital at stated times,
but there were occasions when Monguor T'u-ssu were
specially summoned to Peking in order to receive awards
for meritorious frontier service. On such occasions, they
traveled in state. The Monguors still enjoy recalling
the fine show made by these glorious ancestors, even
though a levy was made on all the subjects of the T'u-
ssu, to provide not only a sum of money for his expenses,
but thirty soldiers in new uniforms as his escort and
ten servants, five secretaries, and enough horses, well
equipped, for the whole retinue, together with provisions
for the journey. In addition, the most handsome horses
and mules that could be found in the Monguors' country
were brought and taken along to be presented to the emperor
and high officials. Other products of the country,
taken as presents, were musk (for the harem), stag horns
in the velvet (a medicine of great repute for old men losing
their virility), deer sinews (a famous medicine for
rheumatic people), and bear's paws (a renowned dish at
official dinners), together with saffron from Tibet.

648 Before his departure, the T'u-ssu paid a farewell visit
624 to the high Chinese officials of the frontier region, who
gave him presents and more money toward the expenses
431 of his journey—hoping of course that in Peking he would
437 praise them and their administration in the right quarters.
For the whole of his journey the T'u-ssu traveled
at the public expense, having permits that entitled him
and his retinue to lodging free of taxes and charges. Although
the capital expense of the journey was great, it was in fact
remunerative both for the T'u-ssu and his retinue. They all
enjoyed it, for they benefited by the ancient tradition of the
East that nobody travels without

²⁴ In view of the irregularity and the fact that some T'u-ssu
received no yearly allowance, it is possible that these payments
were regarded as grants to favored vassals rather than as
regular salaries to officials.—O. L.

648 trading and making a little profit. The T'u-ssu and his
624 retinue took with them whatever they thought might sell
435 advantageously in Peking. For the return journey, they
431 bought in Peking everything that they knew would sell
profitably in their home country. The profit was greatly
increased by the fact that they traveled free of charge and
free of the usual transit taxes. Before they left Peking,
moreover, the T'u-ssu received valuable gifts from the
emperor, including the traditional ceremonial long coat,
the yellow robe worn by officials on state occasions, and
pieces of silk and brocade. A visit of this kind to the
capital enhanced the stature of the T'u-ssu both among
his own subjects and among the Chinese officials, because
the rich presents that he took with him provided him
with friends and protectors among the high officials at
court.

648 Most of the foregoing information was collected in
624 Liench'eng, the T'u-ssu of the Lu clan of Liench'eng
having been among the last of the T'u-ssu who visited
the emperor. Two old Monguors of this clan liked to
talk about this visit on which their grandfathers or great-
grandfathers had accompanied the T'u-ssu to the capital,
where they had seen the emperor. According to the fam-
ily chronicles of the clan, this visit was made in 1829-
1830 by the T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsün, fifteenth in descent
from the "founding ancestor" of the clan. He left Lien-
ch'eng on the twenty-sixth of the tenth moon and arrived
at Peking on the nineteenth of the twelfth moon. On the
twenty-third of the twelfth moon he was granted an audi-
ence with the emperor and from the twenty-fourth to the
twenty-ninth he was invited to banquets and theatrical
performances.

On the first of the first moon, the new year according
to the lunar calendar, he accompanied the high official
who carried out the rite of congratulating the emperor
at the palace called the T'ai Ho Tien, and partook of a
dinner of state. On the evening of the same day he at-
tended the theatrical performance played on the ice of
the lake called Ying T'ai in the Forbidden City. On the
fifteenth of the first moon he accompanied the high offi-
cials who attended the fireworks illumination of the Yuan
Ming Yuan palace, and was granted the favor of such
gifts as the peacock plume, clothes, porcelains, and rare
foodstuffs. On the nineteenth he presented his thanks to
the emperor and asked for leave to depart. He made his
farewells to the high officials, left on the twenty-eighth,
and completed the long journey back to Liench'eng on
the fifth of the fourth moon.

In the same family chronicle there is recorded the
visit paid in 1819 by the T'u-ssu Lu Cho to the Em-
peror Chia Ch'ing on the occasion of his sixtieth birth-
day at the summer palace of Jehol. This T'u-ssu left
Liench'eng on the nineteenth of the fifth moon and ar-
rived in Jehol on the tenth of the eighth moon. On the
twelfth, he was received in audience to greet the emperor
in the Lion Garden, where he was accorded the favor of
receiving slices of venison sprinkled with pepper and

648 ginger. On the thirteenth, the emperor graciously ac-
 624 cepted the T'u-ssu's presents, consisting of two beautiful
 horses and samples of the products of the Monguor coun-
 try. The T'u-ssu received a peacock plume with button,
 a straw hat, a collar of the design worn by officials of the
 fifth rank, a long coat with an embroidered medallion on
 the chest and back, and an official robe embroidered with
 dragons; together with a silk girdle, a purse, a knife to
 be hung from the girdle, a short and long coat of brocade,
 some small carpets, a splendid saddle rug, tea, and dried
 fruit. On the fourteenth, after a banquet and theatrical
 performance, he received a clock and a snuff-box. On
 the seventeenth, after another banquet, dinner and the-
 atrical display, he received foodstuffs. On the eighteenth
 still another banquet and the theater again, and at night
 fire-works. On the nineteenth he went to offer his
 thanks to the emperor and received two pieces of bro-
 cade, two of silk, six of satin, and a piece of dried veni-
 son. On the twentieth he bade farewell to the emperor
 and left on the twenty-first. (Extracts from the family
 chronicles of Lu.)

These records give an idea of the pomp of such visits
 under the empire. The visit to the emperor and the
 honor of seeing him were the dream of a T'u-ssu and
 the summit of his glory; and the subjects who accom-
 panied him liked to talk about the splendor of the im-
 perial palace, the majesty of the emperor, and his gra-
 ciousness toward their chief.

THE COMMONERS

174 Having elucidated the questions of the chiefs of the
 Monguor clans, their function as clan chiefs, the histori-
 cal position of the first clan chief, the rules of succession
 and installation, and having explained the new kind of
 position that was acquired by becoming a Chinese official,
 with the title and duty of T'u-ssu, there remain the many
 fascinating problems of the origin and social evolution of
 the commoners.

To what original tribes did the commoners of the sev-
 enteen Monguor clans belong?

MONGOLS

I frequently inquired among both commoners and no-
 bles about the names of the tribes to which they had be-
 longed in time past, but to no avail. Not a single definite
 answer could be obtained. But since Potanin and Prje-
 valsku assert that they heard Monguors say that they
 were of "Chzhahor," or White Mongol, or Karluk ori-
 gin, and since Father A. De Smedt heard some rare
 Monguors say that they were of Karluk origin, it is
 possible that among the commoners there still exist
 traceable descendants of these tribes. Failing an estab-
 lished tradition among the people themselves, is it pos-
 sible to trace historically the origin of the commoners
 given as subjects to the Monguor clan chiefs by the
 Mongol emperors? The authors of the *Annals* of the
 prefecture of Hsining and of the province of Kansu,

177erals, Ma Fu-hsiang, Ma Hung-k'uei, Ma Hung-pin, and other military leaders all belong to this group.

In the course of the Ming dynasty a few small groups of Mongols who had at first been hostile submitted to the Ming and were settled in Kansu. In the region of Paonan, near Kueite, there still live five groups of these Mongols, whose curious fate it was to become Muslim in religion and Tibetan in language; they are called the Wut'ung⁸⁷ Mongols.

All of these groups the Chinese of Hsining call Mongols and not T'u-jen, and the seventeen Monguor clans discussed in this book are unable, because of the peculiar evolution of their own language, to talk with these Mongols in the dialects they speak; they know that they are Mongols, but say that they do not belong to the same stock. A comparative study of the social organization and the language of these groups would be interesting and important, but I have never had the opportunity to undertake it.

THE T'U-SSU AND HIS SUBJECTS

624 Up to this point both nobles and commoners have been referred to as "subjects" of the T'u-ssu. The relation is in fact somewhat complex, involving not only the relations between T'u-ssu and nobles, but those between nobles and commoners.

The T'u-ssu, in the nature of the origin of the T'u-ssu institution, was formerly the ruler of the clan with the support of and by the appointment of the emperor. Although he is of the same "bone" as the nobles, the authority and prestige that set him apart and above the nobles are unlimited. From the point of view of the overlord state, the entire authority in the clan, civil and military, is embodied in him alone, and nobles as well as commoners are his subjects. The only limit on his power is that he cannot inflict capital punishment. He also represents the leadership and prestige of the sacred founding ancestor of the clan.

T'U-SSU ULTIMATE OWNER OF THE CLAN TERRITORY

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241 From the emperor, the T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan. These territories were originally assigned, according to a military plan, to screen the frontier, at a time when the Monguors were still nomads, and it may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories. We must, however, beware of the idea that "nomads" are concerned only with cattle-breeding. Travelers in Mongolia, medieval and modern, have noted—often with astonishment—the wide distribution of farming practiced by nomads. It is true that the farming done by nomads is rudimentary and crude compared with intensive Chinese farming, but it is also true that nomads always attempt a little auxiliary farming wherever climate and soil permit. The Monguors must, at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, have

⁸⁷ Possibly from a mistaken Chinese transcription of Mongol *khotong*, "a Muslim."—O. L.

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ers still existed in 1911-1922, even though the chasm which in former times separated nobles from commoners had almost been bridged in ordinary social life. The commoners were still, however, not allowed to abandon their chiefs. The moment they became able to exercise that freedom, the clans were bound to fall asunder, the troops to disappear, and the T'u-ssu institution to wither away.

The first duty of a subject was never to abandon his lord.⁴⁵ The subjects and their descendants were chained with fetters which never could be removed. They could not even of their own decision leave their lord in order to pass into the service of another lord. Under pre-Monguor customary law the death penalty was stipulated for attempting to do so.⁴⁶ This conviction of being chained was deeply rooted in the social consciousness of the Monguors and was considered by them to be natural. It was enforced by the right of the T'u-ssu to request from the Chinese officials the extradition of any of his subjects who fled and hid among the Chinese.

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After the great rebellion of the Muslims (1868-1872), however, the military power of the Monguors gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time wielded any considerable influence. The Chinese officials, receiving fewer presents from the impoverished T'u-ssu, were not as willing as before to uphold their rights and privileges. Although there is no documentary evidence that the Chinese were following their traditional policy of unifying the administration by gradually abolishing the privileges of tribes that had become innocuous, perhaps there were secret orders from Peking to neglect the T'u-ssu: The T'u-ssu institution had in fact become obsolete and the imperial authorities must have been aware that this kind of defense of the frontiers was now useless.⁴⁷ In any event, less support was henceforth

to live together with his clan; to help in the pastoral economy and in hunting. It was impossible for them to unbind the fetters which chained them to the suzerain, and so their descendants continued to be the vassals of his clan.

⁴⁵ There was a distinction in this respect between nobles and commoners. As shown by the recorded instances, notably in the Li clan (see above, p. 40), a kinsman of the T'u-ssu could, in certain circumstances, split away from the T'u-ssu and, by the decree of the overlord state, take some of the commoners, be allocated a territory, be created himself a T'u-ssu, and become the founder of a new line of nobles ruling over subject commoners. From this aspect the position of a T'u-ssu relative to his noble kinsmen may be described as *primus inter pares* and relative to his commoners as *princeps omnium*.—O. L.

⁴⁶ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 153.

⁴⁷ The T'u-ssu and the whole antiquated Manchu imperial system were unable to deal with the Muslim insurrection, which was eventually put down by the "new style" Chinese (not Manchu) generals in command of Chinese (not Manchu) troops, with Western arms. One consequence was that it became evident that such frontier feudatories as the Monguors were no longer either useful or dangerous. Even if there were secret orders from Peking to neglect them, therefore, there was no need for such orders. Another consequence was that the "new style" Chinese generals began to become superior in prestige to the Manchu imperial state, and became, in fact, the "founding ancestors" of

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178 extended to the T'u-ssu, their influence waned and dwindled, and they even became unable to insist on the extradition of fugitive subjects who preferred to become Chinese or to take a chance on earning a living elsewhere.

The cornerstone of the whole institution had always been the power to keep the subjects bound to the chief and to the territory. As this power decreased during the last fifty years of the Manchu dynasty, there were many defections. In the end the only ties still attaching the vassals to their lord were the benefits of living under his administration, because his taxes on his subjects were not as heavy as the taxes imposed on Chinese. If the subjects saw a chance to better themselves in some other way, however, or felt the fetters of the T'u-ssu too chafing, they would say goodbye to their lord and leave him.

A rich subject of the Lu T'u-ssu living in the Lumen Valley, an owner of large herds, left his lord and enrolled in a Tibetan tribe north of Wei-yuanp'u, where he secured better pasturage for his flocks and enjoyed about the material advantages that he had enjoyed near his lord. He was soon on his way to becoming a Tibetan, and his Monguor lord could not impede his departure.

About 1890, several groups of Monguors, vassals of different T'u-ssu, enrolled in the Tibetan tribe called "the ten large clans" living in Hasit'an in the sub-prefecture of Kulang. They left their lords and ceased to recognize any kind of allegiance to them. Because this defection was on a large scale and damaging to their prestige, the T'u-ssu collectively sued for the extradition of their undutiful subjects at the Chinese courts at Nienpei, P'ingfan, and Hsining, and finally at Lanchow. Convinced of their inalienable rights, they persisted, but in 1914, after more than twenty years of unavailing litigation, no decision had been handed down. The disheartened lords swallowed the bitter pill. The breach had been opened in the fortress of their old institution, and it appeared to be doomed. In 1918 I saw the defecting Monguors in Hasit'an. Their womenfolk still wore the distinctive Monguor headgear and dress, and they still spoke the Monguor language, but after one or two generations they would become Tibetans.

Another group of Monguors belonging to the Li T'u-ssu left their lord, repudiated their allegiance to him, and went to live in the territory of the monastery of Tient'ang. They got into trouble with the Living Buddha of the monastery, who ordered them to wear Tibetan costume.

The Living Buddha Sumpa of the monastery of Erh-kulung had acquired a large territory belonging to Mongols living north of the sub-prefecture of Maopeisheng.⁴⁵

the warlords, the social class that dominated the next generation both within China and on the frontiers.—O. L.

⁴⁵ This place name is a Chinese rendering of the Mongol *mu baishing*, "ruined (lit. 'bad') building" (or "fortress"). The ancient word *baishing* is not listed as used by Monguors in De Smedt and Mostaert's *Dictionnaire*.—O. L.

[P. 61a]

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178 He gathered several groups of Monguors and founded four Monguor villages, naming them after the villages from which the settlers came. These Monguors still recognize their allegiance to their lords for corvées and other services, but not for land taxes, which they pay to the Buddha.

A colony of Monguors from Shangsukou emigrated to Cholok in Narinkou. They, too, continued to recognize their old lord.

These facts prove that the clan institution of the T'u-ssu was falling asunder by the end of the Manchu dynasty, and also indicate that the Monguors were so prolific that the territory assigned to them by the emperor in 1368 had become too narrow.

TAXES

651 The Monguor taxation system bespeaks the nomadic tradition. In former times the importance of a nomad chief was not appraised by the extent of his territory, but by the number of his vassals. The Monguor T'u-ssu still retain this outlook. Their neighbors, the Chinese, impose taxes on the fields, not on the people, but the T'u-ssu impose taxes on the vassals, not on the fields. The vassals, having become farmers, live in villages. The T'u-ssu taxes the village community according to the number and wealth of its families. The heads of families, together with the elders, grade the families in five classes according to their wealth and apportion the taxes among them. Rich people who are traders or have large herds but cultivate little land are more heavily taxed than poor people who cultivate more land. At the lowest level the commoner is taxed without consideration of the source of his income. At this lowest level, the amount of land cultivated necessarily becomes the sole base of taxation, and the nomadic principle of taxing the people is inevitably transformed into the agricultural principle of taxing the land.

It is easy to understand that the distribution of taxes is in many villages the source of troubles and quarrels which the T'u-ssu have to deal with on their triennial visits. Obviously, the system does not fit the framework of the present (1911-1921) economy of the Monguors. If the tax system were to fit the conditions, fields and herds and trade should be subject to differently calculated taxes; but both the Monguors and their T'u-ssu are still dominated by the nomadic tradition, and therefore accept the basic principle that it is the vassal and not the territory that should be taxed.

When the harvest has been reaped and threshed, the servants of the lord go to all the villages, exhorting the villagers to bring their taxes to the mansion of the T'u-ssu immediately. These taxes, levied in kind, constitute the principle income of the lord, who is therefore anxious to have them gathered into his granaries. The emissaries of the T'u-ssu also have their own customs and traditions. They know very well in which village they are entitled by custom to receive a sheep; in which village

[P.C.6b]

705 and twenty sheep, and loaded with kettles, ropes, felt
175 coverings for tents, lamb skins, and wool.

714 The Monguor soldier wore a turban of blue or black
cotton cloth. The distinctive part of his uniform was
a sleeveless jacket of red cotton cloth, with yellow
trimmings and a circular patch of white on the chest
and back. On these circles were written three Chinese
characters reading "Monguor soldier" and the clan
name of his T'u-ssu. These white circles on the red
jacket made bright targets for the enemy. The soldier
was expected to report for duty with an old musket and
a sword. For every unit of ten men the village had to
provide a tent, a kettle, and one pack horse, in addition
to riding horses for the mounted men. The horses are
shod only on the forefeet, as in medieval Europe.

651 As has already been described, each T'u-ssu formerly
had the responsibility for guarding certain passes lead-
ing to the Tibetan plateau. At these passes detachments
of Monguor troops were stationed even in times of
peace, and at these posts they had the right to collect
taxes from caravans. Other traditional taxes and
levies were also for the maintenance of troops. Up until
recent times, for instance, the Lu T'u-ssu had the right
to tax all rafts going down the Tat'ung River past his
town of Liench'eng. This tax was collected according
to the number of steering sweeps on each raft. The Lu
T'u-ssu's soldiers also collected taxes from Chinese
traders buying horses, mules, cows, sheep and pigs in
his territory. The Monguors were exempted from
these taxes. Twice every year the Lu T'u-ssu inspected
527 all his troops in the valley of Kuch'eng ("Old City").
651 These occasions were celebrated with horse races and
wrestling matches, and there was a large market at-
tended by an enormous crowd. The troops collected
taxes from merchants attending this market.

701 Soldiers were also required for peace-time duty at
651 the mansion of the T'u-ssu, as sentries, body guards,
and official messengers. They also maintained order
among the crowds at the great religious celebrations at
the monasteries built in the territory of the T'u-ssu, and
at the time of the annual clan meeting. On such occa-
sions they also collected taxes from Chinese merchants.

TRIENNIAL INSPECTION

• 624 According to protocol, a T'u-ssu should make an in-
spection visit every three years (in some cases, every
two years) to all the villages of his subjects. This visit
is called the "descent among the subjects," and in the
course of the visit the T'u-ssu should make a count of
the number of his subjects and check on the administra-
tion of the villages, in order to make a report to the
Chinese officials representing the overlord state. This
triennial tour is one of the main sources of income of a
T'u-ssu.

The tour begins on an auspicious day fixed by a lama.
Monguor soldiers from the first village to be visited on
the tour come to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, with some

[P. 64-6]

624 of the elders of their village, to escort the T'u-ssu. They bring with them the required number of horses, finely equipped and well broken to the saddle, to be ridden by the T'u-ssu's retinue of ten or more officials and servants. The finest courtyard in the village is prepared for the sojourn of the T'u-ssu, who like a medieval seigneur enjoys the *droit de gîte* at each stopping place. The procession is headed by a soldier who carries, strapped diagonally across his back, a rolled-up painting on yellow cotton cloth of the guardian deity of the clan. This picture is to be venerated at each stopping place.

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651 Outside the village the T'u-ssu is greeted by all the inhabitants, dressed in their best clothes and kneeling and bowing. Although the occasion costs them a great deal of money, their faces are alight with joy and exaltation, because receiving their feudal lord is traditionally a joyful festival.

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264 One of the elders presents to the T'u-ssu a *katag* or ceremonial scarf, laying it across his outstretched hands, and another elder offers him two bottles of wine. A sheep is then led before the T'u-ssu, its horns decorated with red paper and a piece of red cotton cloth strapped on its back. At the same time he is presented with a gift of 30,000 copper coins on a dish. This offering is called the "gift of joyous entrance into the village." In former days, the sheep was slaughtered, prepared for the dinner in the evening, and served before the guests as a whole carcass, on an enormous platter. This is the traditional dish for important guests. At the same time, the most delicate piece, the fat tail, together with 1,000 copper coins, is presented to the T'u-ssu on a special plate. In recent times the T'u-ssu sometimes accepts the sheep and orders it to be brought to his palace, together with the spices required for cooking it properly. This amounts to a double charge on the village, because another sheep must be slaughtered for the evening dinner.

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796 When the T'u-ssu and his retinue reach the courtyard where the T'u-ssu is to stay, the picture of the guardian deity of the clan is displayed in the front room. An oil lamp is lighted and incense is burned before it as long as the T'u-ssu's visit lasts. The community as a group venerate the guardian deity, prostrating themselves; in the front row are the village elders, with sticks of incense in their joined hands. This custom of carrying the guardian deity on the triennial tour of the feudal lord of the clan, giving all the village communities an opportunity to worship it, seems to correspond with the custom of honoring the "spirits of the clan" among the Manchus, as described by Shirokogoroff.⁵¹

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792 At present the guardian deities of all the Monguor clans have been taken over by Lamaism. Formerly one or two lamas served as house chaplains at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, praying and burning incense every day at the temple of the guardian deity. Since the destruc-

⁵¹ S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, Shanghai, North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924.

171 tion of most of the T'u-ssu mansions during the
 792 Muslim rebellion, a small room serves as the tem-
 177 ple, and there are no longer chaplains on permanent
 776 duty except in the three clans of Lu, Li, and Ch'i, where
 the original temple still exists. The lamaistic deity
 honored by the clan of the Li T'u-ssu as its guardian is
 Lhamo-tsang, represented as a black rider on a black
 mule, wearing a necklace of human skulls. The saddle
 is covered with a human skin. In her right hand the
 deity, who is female, grasps a sword, and in her left
 she holds a bowl made from a human skull. The mule
 is painted treading in blood. Lhamo is the only female
 among the eight "protector deities" of lamaism. She
 is said to be the reincarnation of the wife of Yama and
 the protector of Lhasa and of the Dalai and Panchen
 Lamas. Her paraphernalia is said to be provided for
 her by the gods in order to enable her to carry on her
 duties as protector.³² I was unable to find out why, and
 at what time, the ancestor of the clan chose this
 monstrous deity as the protector of the clan. Nor is
 there any surviving tradition to explain what the clan
 spirits of the Monguors were like before they became
 modified by Lamaism.

• 624 After the veneration of the guardian deity, there is an
 796 official reception and congratulations are exchanged.
 The community then leaves the courtyard and two
 sentries are posted at the gate to prevent free approach
 to the T'u-ssu. In assuming this inaccessibility at this
 point in the protocol, the T'u-ssu marks a departure
 from the familiarity of the clan or tribe, and puts on the
 aloofness of a high Chinese official. People who have
 problems to present to the T'u-ssu must ask the sentries
 for an audience and explain to them the problem they
 want to discuss. Those who want to make a legal claim,
 or to complain against an injustice or against the ad-
 ministration, must put their request in writing, and the
 requests are then given by the sentry to a secretary who
 transmits them to the T'u-ssu. Those who write down
 and forward the request must receive a remuneration.

624 On the following day the T'u-ssu begins a series of
 meetings with the chief men of the community, the
 elders, and the military officials. The first item of
 business is the examination of the village register, which
 is kept up to date every year. If any subjects have left
 the territory of the clan, the reasons are discussed and
 the possibility of bringing them back is considered.
 Accounts must be rendered of the administration of the
 village and the division of taxes and corvées. The
 T'u-ssu is interested in the harvest of the past three
 years, and in the observance of the old clan customs and
 traditions, veneration of the ancestors, reverence towards
 nobles, marriages, divorces, the religious festivals in the
 spring and autumn, the state of morals in the village,
 singing of obscene songs in the village, hospitality toward

³² A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und Mongolei*, 66, 76, 175, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1900 (guide to the Ukhtomskii Collection).

624 lamas, the "passing" of land to people who are not members of the clan, etc.

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701 The number of men in the village liable to military service is checked, and the T'u-ssu carries out a military inspection. The troops turn out with their muskets and swords and horses. Tents, cooking kettles, pack animals and pack saddles, and sacks for carrying the flour ration are all inspected. The inspection concludes with a sham attack by the Monguor cavalry at full gallop, the soldiers firing their guns, drawing their swords, and howling and shouting.

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692 The next important procedure is ratification by the T'u-ssu of all the settlements made by the village elders in patching up quarrels during the preceding three years. The custom is that when such a settlement is made, each person involved must pay the elders 2,000 copper coins, and these accumulated sums must be offered to the T'u-ssu. If there are legal suits, as distinguished from these settlements, the T'u-ssu presides over them on the fourth day. To deal with such suits, he is accompanied throughout his journey by the officials of his court of justice and by lictors carrying chains, handcuffs, and batons, and wearing their appropriate costumes.

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681 The custom is that justice be rendered on the threshing floor of the village in the open air. The lord and his secretaries sit at tables. At the left stand two lictors dressed in red cotton and wearing high red harlequin hats, and with batons in their hands. At the right stand two lictors dressed in black. Chains, handcuffs, and batons are laid on the table, and plaintiffs and defendants kneel in front. The punishments inflicted include hanging by the wrists or thumbs, and flogging up to one hundred and even five hundred lashes. The offender is stripped and pegged out face downward, arms and legs spreadeagled. The lictors, armed with short whips or rods, strike the tender inner side of the thighs. Women are flogged on the bare back. The justice meted out is not always as brutal as it appears to be, because the retinue of the T'u-ssu is always venal. They depend on bribery for their income. Although most T'u-ssu do not approve of the corruption indulged in by many of their minor officials, they cannot always prevent it. Suits brought by the Monguors before the T'u-ssu are the delight of his retinue. It is often the crying injustices caused by the venality and peculation of the petty officials that cause Monguors to leave the clan territory and abandon their lord.

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691 The expenses of legal suits, and of the sojourn of the T'u-ssu with his retinue for that day, are paid by the litigants, but all other expenses of the official three-day visit are defrayed by the people of the village. At the end of the visit, the elders and troops of the next village come to escort the T'u-ssu on the next stage of his tour.

624 It may be noted that this triennial tour of the T'u-ssu, accompanied by his court of justice, seems to suggest that it is the T'u-ssu as an individual and not his mansion

624 as the seat of authority that is the true center of administration. The tour through his territory seems to recall the older nomad society in its reassertion of personal control over the subjects, securing the cohesion of the clan and binding the subjects to the territory. The procedure may be compared with that of the Mongols, among whom every three years the register of the population is brought up to date and a large meeting of the Banner is held.⁵³ Among the Manchus, the general meeting of the clan is usually held once a year and never less frequently than once in three years.⁵⁴ Among the Monguors, it is to be noted that the T'u-ssu, in addition to his triennial tour, presides once a year over the meeting of the whole clan on the day of the veneration of the ancestors.

THE T'U-SSU LORD OF THE NOBLES

173 618 At the seat of the T'u-ssu is kept the register of all the noble families and their members. Even the girls are noted and the families into which they marry. The difference between this register and the book of genealogies of the nobles lies in the fact that in the book of genealogies the birth of children, whether boys or girls, is not noted. A noble is entered in the book of genealogies as of the day of his death, on which date are noted the day of his birth and the name of his wife. The names of unmarried sons are not inscribed because they have not produced sons for the clan; the names of girls are omitted because they are "outsiders," taking the name of a different clan as soon as they are married. The register of the noble families is more elaborate, because each member of the family, boys and girls alike, is assessed a levy of 50 coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple.

THE TRIENNIAL VISIT

624 574 At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu among the nobles, the register is brought up to date. Because the nobles live scattered in the villages among the commoners and the members of the same House do not necessarily live in the same village, the visit of the T'u-ssu is so ordered that he visits the Houses one after another on fixed days. All members of a House must gather at the home of some one member. They are expected to invite the T'u-ssu and to send horses for his retinue. The picture of the guardian deity of the clan accompanies the T'u-ssu, and a reception is held during which the members of the generation senior to the T'u-ssu bow to him, while members of junior generations prostrate themselves. The hosts must provide a dinner at which the T'u-ssu presides as chief over all his noble kinsmen. Topics of interest to the nobles are discussed, and though they offer him no money, they present him with a piece of cloth.

⁵³ E. Timkovskii, *Voyage en Chine par la Mongolie en 1820 et 1821*, 1, 113, 321, Paris, 1827.

⁵⁴ Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 51.

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594 cloth. On the third day he is invited by the members of the next House.

NOBLES EXEMPTED FROM TAXES, CORVÉES,
MILITARY SERVICE

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651 There are important differences between commoners and nobles in respect to taxes, military duty, and obligatory services. The way in which the nobles as kinsmen by blood of the T'u-ssu are divided into Houses according to seniority of descent from the founding ancestor, and are allocated for their personal revenue the tax income from certain villages, has already been described. The logical counterpart of the fact that the taxes of commoners can be allocated to nobles is the immunity of the nobles themselves from all taxes, obligatory services, and special contributions to the investiture of a T'u-ssu or the expenses of marriages and funerals in his mansion. The T'u-ssu and his noble kinsmen, as members of the same "bone," are thus clearly set apart as the collective "owners" of the commoners who form the larger, "assimilated" clan. Following the same general principle, when commoners bring new fields under cultivation they must pay to the T'u-ssu both a capital price for the acquisition of the land and a tax for the registration of the land as their private property, while nobles may bring new land under cultivation without any payment of any kind, thus demonstrating that they, collectively with the T'u-ssu, are the owners of the territory.

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769 Nobles are, however, by the same logic, subject to contributions for the upkeep of the ancestral temple in the mansion of the T'u-ssu. All nobles of the clan, and even their wives and children, are assessed a levy of 50 copper coins every year for the expenses of the lama chaplain and the cost of oil, paper, and incense. The Monguors say that in former times the nobles were also responsible for the upkeep of the old common cemetery, and that they only later built private cemeteries, but that at present they pass on to the commoners the cost of the upkeep of these cemeteries.

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651 The custom in regard to corvées is parallel to that regulating the payment of taxes. Though nobles may inherit the right to collect taxes from certain villages, they do not have the right to demand obligatory services; but conversely they themselves are not subject to such services. Because of this, nobles must either till their own fields and watch their own cattle, or hire people to do this work for them. If the village in which they live decides to dig an irrigation canal as a communal project, they do not have to contribute labor but must pay their share of the expenses. The only extraordinary expenses and services that can be demanded of the nobles come under the head of honorable obligations, such as taking part in the entertainment of guests during festivities, contributions to dinners, participation in the veneration of the ancestors and in clan meetings, and serving as representatives of the T'u-ssu at dinners given

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584 by Chinese officials, or on journeys to congratulate Chinese officials on the major feast days of the year. The nobles as a group are also exempted from military service, although the chiefs of the militia of the commoners, according to tradition, were always chosen from among the nobles in former times. In later times both nobles and commoners have served as commanders and officers.²³

It is said by the Monguors that in times past it was usually a noble who served as the chief of a village, but that because at present there are very few capable men among the nobles, these duties have devolved on commoners. Similarly, the nobles have lost the monopoly of serving as military officers.

AUTHORITY OF T'U-SSU OVER NOBLES

• 624 As might be expected the relations between a T'ü-ssu and his nobles are of a special kind. It has already been described how, on occasions of special ceremony, a T'ü-ssu may actually be expected to prostrate himself before nobles who are members of a generation senior to his own, while they do not have to prostrate themselves to him, but merely clasp their hands and bow their heads. Moreover, while the T'ü-ssu takes precedence when he is presiding as chief of the clan at the veneration of the ancestors, at clan meetings, during the triennial visitation, or when nobles or commoners are brought before him in a lawsuit, yet on such occasions as non-official dinners and the marriages of nobles, the T'ü-ssu always requests a noble of a generation senior to his own to preside.

624 Difficulties among the nobles most commonly originate either in quarrels over the division of a paternal inheritance or quarrels about the collection of taxes. In order to prevent litigation, the clan elders try to arbitrate such quarrels. Only if they are unsuccessful is a lawsuit brought before the T'ü-ssu. If the parties do not agree to the T'ü-ssu's verdict, they are free to appeal to a Chinese court. In a case known to me, the eleventh House of the clan of Li T'ü-ssu had trouble with its villages over the collection of taxes. Unwilling to abide by the verdict of the T'ü-ssu, the members of the House went to the Chinese court. They were severely rebuked, the Chinese judge angrily threatening to abolish the outmoded custom under which the members of a whole clan live at the expense of the commoners.

681 Nobles are never flogged or beaten for transgression of the law, because the lictors are commoners and it is not fitting that commoners should beat nobles.

624 When the T'ü-ssu visits his nobles in the course of his triennial tour, they defray his expenses, including those of his retinue, just as do the commoners.

The old nomad custom was that when an individual

²³ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 233, notes that among the Mongols of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, with the decay of the feudal system, the duty of feudal service on the part of a noble to his lord had become more voluntary than obligatory.

624 noble or a group of nobles did not agree with the chief
565 of the clan, they were free to take those commoners who
were directly subject to them and to join another clan
or found a new clan. The Monguors do not remember
that groups of nobles have ever left one clan to join
another. The way in which, in the Li clan, a noble who
did not agree to the appointment of his nephew as
T'u-ssu was given 100 families and allowed to become
a small independent T'u-ssu himself, has already been
described. This case occurred, however, during the
time of troubles when the Ming dynasty fell and the
Manchu dynasty was set up. It may, therefore, be
interpreted, perhaps, not as a real secession from the
clan but rather as a compromise, in a time of uncer-
tainty, to avoid dissension within the clan. Since the
Monguor clans are small, and since the nobles do not
have commoners who are their own direct subjects, seces-
sion from the clan is in fact practically impossible. A
single family of nobles, not being able to take a follow-
ing of commoners with it, would have no bargaining
power in attempting to join another clan and could in
fact join only if willing to accept commoner status in-
stead of noble status. Thus it can be said that the
device of granting to Houses only the right to collect
taxes from certain villages, and not the direct "owner-
ship" of the villages, has served to bind the Monguor
nobles to their clan and to their territory.

WANING INFLUENCE OF NOBLES

178 The facts that have here been recited seem to justify
565 the general inference that the transition from a nomadic
624 economy to an agricultural economy resulted in under-
mining the influence and power formerly wielded by the
nobles as a group. On the one hand, all forms of noble
power have tended to become more nearly monopolized
by the T'u-ssu; on the other hand increasing self-gov-
ernment by the villages and participation by commoners
in both civil and military administration has tended to
make the power of the T'u-ssu less absolute and more
nominal. Farming led to the grouping of the commoners
in villages and, therefore, inevitably to new forms of
administration and control. Gradually, as it became
customary to give village appointments to commoners
who were energetic and able instead of to idle nobles
who were content to live on their revenues, the nobles
were squeezed out. Since the power to appoint chiefs
and elders and military commanders remained with the
T'u-ssu, his nominal power was increased but since
this meant that the actual collection of revenue in the
villages and the actual exercise of authority were in the
hands of commoners, their real power increased.

[556] This development was probably favored on the one
hand by the weakening cohesion of the nobles through
their division into Houses, and on the other hand by the
increasingly individualistic farming economy, which in-
creased the local respect for families which were of
non-noble origin but had become wealthy and influential.

764 bushel basket and presented to the person who has been chosen; this act constitutes the act of appointment. The man thus chosen is assigned an assistant to take care of details. This duty is performed in rotation by heads of families..

769 Neither shamans nor lamas take part in this annual
792 veneration of the ancestors. The absence of lamas is particularly striking, because during the year the routine duties of the temple of the guardian deity of the clan are entrusted to one or two lamas, as already described, while three times a year seven lamas take part in special ceremonies of veneration at this temple. The Ch'i T'u-ssu has the right to impose on the monastery of Erhkulung the corvée obligation to provide these lamas, because this monastery was originally built in the territory of the Ch'i clan by express permission, and because it has been given many grants of property by the successive T'u-ssu of the clan.

769 More than any other single ceremony, this annual
527 veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of a Monguor clan. There is a visible effect on the clansmen, who normally live secluded in their remote valleys, when at the assembly they see the pomp and splendor of the parade to the graveyard, the soldiers with banners, the T'u-ssu in his official silk robe, adorned with embroidered patches on the breast with glittering dragons—a present from the Emperor, when one of his ancestors visited Peking—and all the outstanding members of both the noble and commoner groups in their robes of ceremony. Even the discrimination between nobles and commoners fosters the sense of hierarchy. There is no doubt that the commoners, like the nobles, feel pride in recalling their old glories and are elated by the ceremonies, the festivities, the singing of old songs, and the horse races, wrestling, and merry-making in the open air.

576 The sense of hierarchy, just mentioned, is well
•624 exemplified by the behavior of Monguors visiting the T'u-ssu or presenting a request to him. The visitor first prostrates himself, then arises, unrolls his "queue" and removes his hat with his right hand, placing it under his left arm. Then, placing his hands together, palm to palm, he approaches the T'u-ssu. If he is asked to sit down, he does not sit but moves to the left side of the T'u-ssu and kneels on the right knee, with the left knee up, placing his hands, still palm to palm, on the left knee, in the Tibefan manner.⁵⁵

Monguors regard it as the worst kind of incivility to start speaking and to keep the hat on the head in the presence of the T'u-ssu. This appears to be a very old Inner Asian symbol of respect. Among the Uighur Turks in the period of the T'ang dynasty (618-906),

⁵⁵ Thus the "outside" knee, farthest from the T'u-ssu, is up, "keeping the luck" between the kneeler and the T'u-ssu. This corresponds to the protocol of kneeling in a Mongol tent where the "outside" knee is that which is nearest the door and "keeps the luck," which is concentrated in the shrine at the back of the tent, within the tent.—O. L

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• 624 "when their ministers of state had audience with the Khakhan, etiquette required them to remove the hat and enter with dishevelled hair, something akin to the Hsiungnu custom."⁵⁰

FESTIVAL

527 Chinese merchants, who keep themselves informed of all festival dates among the Monguors, of course gather in great numbers and pitch their tents in the wide valley below the cemetery. The merchants pay taxes for permission to attend such gatherings.

On this occasion, a very large tent was pitched within which the T'u-ssu presided over the festivities, seated in the midst of the nobles, the elders, and all the prominent non-nobles of the clan, receiving the renewed professions of allegiance of his subjects. The chiefs and elders of each village, ceremonially dressed, came up one after another to do homage, bowing kneeling, and performing the *k'o-t'ou* or prostration, taking their time from the master of ceremonies who shouted his directions in a loud voice. The T'u-ssu, at the height of his glory, was happy to entertain each and every man for a few moments. Hundreds of Monguors crowded around, looking on and enjoying the ceremony.

Finally, dinner was eaten by the T'u-ssu and all the chiefs and prominent members of the clan, some seated inside the tent and an overflow outside seated on felt rugs at small tables. The customary whole sheep, the traditional dish of honor of all Inner Asian nomads, was presented to the T'u-ssu. Wine was drunk and tongues began to wag. A couple of girls with pleasing voices were invited to sing the customary songs, outside the tent and in the presence of the crowd. A number of men and women presented graceful dances, each dancing alone without a partner, to the music of a simple guitar-like instrument. Youngsters raced on unsaddled, spirited horses, passing before the tent to cross the finish line, and finally two wrestlers, a Monguor and a Tibetan lama from the monastery of Serkok, were admired and congratulated. A number of Monguors and Tibetans, befuddled with liquor, started fighting, and soldiers closed in on them to restore order. Before sunset most of the crowd had gone, leaving a few small groups still sitting on the ground, singing and making merry.

The Monguors told me that this glorious day seldom passed without a certain amount of disturbance and fighting; but the tradition is that no suits can be brought before the T'u-ssu or the village chiefs for heads smashed, bones broken, and clothes torn on this day of celebration.

ASSIZES OF THE CLAN

692 The next morning the assizes of the clan began inside the big tent, presided over by the T'u-ssu, with the chief

⁵⁰ E. H. Parker, *A thousand years of the Tartars*, 211, 2nd ed., London, Kegan, Paul, 1924. (It should be noted, however, that among the Mongols the custom is the opposite; it is an incivility to take off the hat in the presence of a superior.—O. L.)

692 nobles and non-nobles, chiefs of villages, and officials of the administration in attendance. A large number of Monguors sat around the tent, taking a keen interest in the proceedings. The matters discussed were for the most part of the same kind as those dealt with when the T'u-ssu makes his triennial tour of the villages: taxes and corvées were discussed and fixed, inquiries were made about the observance of traditions, the register of subjects was checked over, military matters were reviewed, and disputes between villages adjudicated. The T'u-ssu appointed or dismissed a number of chiefs, village elders, and military commanders. At these assizes suits may be brought for personal adjudication by the T'u-ssu, who metes out punishment according to custom.

The expenses of this annual assembly are shared by the subjects, while the offerings for the ancestors are paid for by the nobles—a division of expenses that again underlines the difference between the inner clan of common blood-descent and the extended clan of political subjects. Usually by the third day there are no more tents in the valley, the merchants have dispersed, and the T'u-ssu returns to his mansion. Such were the proceedings at the last glorious annual assembly of the clan of the Ch'i-T'u-ssu, which I had the good fortune to attend in 1913.

REMARKS

618 The description of the organization of the Monguor
624 clans and their administration is based on the pattern of the large clans. It is easy to understand that the display of pomp at the diets is related to the importance of the clans, the number of their clan members, and their wealth, and also to the wealth and prestige of the T'u-ssu. Small clans finish the three acts of their diet in a single day, always keeping the difference and deference between nobles and commoners at the time of worshipping the founding ancestor. In small clans however, constituted by only 150 families or so, both groups necessarily are not numerous and the diet is more like a family gathering and is more informal. Since the clan is small, all the circumstances of each family are known by the T'u-ssu and he himself tackles all the problems of the clan with the elders; the collection of land taxes by nobles is necessarily reduced to a minimum, but the nobles are always exempted from taxes and corvées. Corvées are necessarily reduced in the same way, since the mansion of the T'u-ssu is usually a small Chinese courtyard without temples and administrative buildings. Inevitably the distance which separates T'u-ssu from commoners is minimized, because the commoners may confer directly with the T'u-ssu. In the large clan it is not easy for the commoner to meet the T'u-ssu, for soldiers watch the entrance of his mansion, requests have to be written by the secretaries and forwarded by messengers to the lord, and it is uncertain if the lord will allow the Monguor commoner to see him or not. Because the distance

[P.73a]

618 is strictly kept, the prestige and authority of the lord are inevitably increased.

624 In small clans, when the T'u-szu is a haughty and supercilious man, or an opium addict and gambler exacting in his demands for corvées and greedy for the money of his subjects, he is easily criticized and despised because the distance between him and his subjects is reduced, and the commoners get into open arguments with him, and rebel and accuse him in the Chinese court. In the lack of distance between the T'u-szu and subjects and the waning authority of the T'u-szu lies the secret of the fact that it is in the small clans that commoners most easily leave their chiefs, giving the Chinese officials the opportunity to reduce both commoners and T'u-szu to the rank of Chinese subjects and to confiscate their territory. It is no wonder that the clans which have disappeared are the small clans.

IV. THE VILLAGE

FORMATION OF THE VILLAGE

621 The Monguor village consists (1911-1922) of a group of families living in a well defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the chief of the village. Since the villagers all till the soil and keep cattle, the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures.

Most farmers, however, live in small hamlets. The patrilineal family system seems to favor this kind of grouping. When the paternal inheritance is divided, the sons build small houses near the old one, bring new lands under cultivation, and small groups of related families, living close together, spring up all over the territory.

Wealthy Monguors hire poor people to cultivate their fields and herd their cattle, and build small houses for them near their own. Wealthy Monguors also give in to the desires of their wives and daughters-in-law and allow poor relatives to build small houses near their own. They lend them oxen to plow their fields, and as they prosper the group increases and the hamlet grows into a village.

361 A third factor promoting the grouping of families was, in the past, the chronic insecurity of the country, ravaged by recurring inroads of Tibetans and Mongols. 621 According to tradition the Monguors, when they first came into this territory, still lived in tents. At that time 721 it was easy to pick up the tent and move out of the path of invasion; but once they began to live in houses, the houses had to be defended. Wealthy people in the outlying territory built a high thick mud wall around their houses. To these enclosures the poor families fled in time of trouble, helping in the defense of the small community. Wealthy people, therefore, liked to see the hamlet increased by the addition of poor families, who provided more manpower for defense. All over the country numerous ruins of strongholds are the enduring witnesses of the bad old times. [p. 736]

177 by the caravans. Only the guilds of large towns, like
 369 Hsining, had connections with the guilds of other cities
 441 and could afford the cost of sending boats and rafts to
 467 Lanchou, the capital of Kansu. In this way the entire
 economy was dominated by the city merchants. The
 fair and festival centers never grew to the extent of
 themselves becoming important cities, because they were
 unable to attract permanent merchants, since the attend-
 ance of the people was only seasonal and there was no
 permanent security. These local fairs merely provided
 the farmers at certain dates with their peculiar usual
 necessities of life.

177 Merchant activity provoked deep repercussions in the
 369 Monguor society, whose nobles and commoners, during
 441 centuries of disorder, had lived a rather precarious ex-
 651 istence, their economy being limited by the boundaries
 of their clans and the production only of necessities
 within their own small groups. Both the economic
 and the political organization of the Monguor clans
 had been founded exclusively on the possession of
 territory. Taxes, corvées, military service, and the ad-
 ministration of justice had been rooted in the ownership
 of territory by the T'u-ssu, the commoners being af-
 fected in a peculiar and disadvantageous way. The
 collection of the taxes of certain villages by the "houses"
 of the nobles had, however, been reduced to negligible
 significance after four centuries, and the financial con-
 ditions of nobles and commoners had become more equal.
 Some of the commoners, who were more numerous than
 the nobles, had become richer than the best of the nobles,
 and rivals in wealth even of the T'u-ssu. Since wealth
 and riches are equated, in Asia, with prestige and author-
 ity, it is no wonder that members of the commoner group
 were easily accepted to fulfill the offices of chiefs and
 elders in the villages, and that the administration of the
 villages passed into their hands. In this way the new
 economic conditions tended to equalize, and perhaps even
 to reverse, the original social inequality between nobles
 and commoners. Under the peace and order of the
 Manchu dynasty, the city merchants were protected.
 Headstrong and daring young men followed the cara-
 vans to Lhasa and made money by selling mules and
 horses. Monguors could open small shops in the coun-
 tryside, and invest capital, in association with the Chi-
 nese merchants, in oil and flour mills. Fishermen could
 venture to Kukunor, and others to burn charcoal in the
 mountains or saw planks to sell in the city. Peace pro-
 vided the opportunities for taking risks in commerce, and
 the focus of these opportunities, which transformed both
 the economic and the social life of the Monguors, was
 the city.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

624 At the end of this study of the origin and organization
 175 of the Monguor clans, their constituent elements, their
 chiefs, their internal rights and obligations and the actual
 administration and family and economic life, it is perti-

[P. 128a]

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175 nent to review the political character of the T'u-ssu institution, and the reasons for its decay.

There can be no doubt that the T'u-ssu institution was regarded by the rulers of the Empire, whether they were Chinese or Manchu emperors, as a makeshift. The institution of the T'u-ssu as "wardens of the marches," as it had existed under the Mongols, was elaborately established under the Ming dynasty, after 1368, when the main forces of the previous rulers, the Mongols, had been driven out of China but were still dangerous enemies beyond the frontier. The new Chinese rulers were only too glad to accept the submission of the chiefs of small frontier tribes who were willing, in exchange for the continuation of their local powers and privileges, to defend the frontier against their own kinsmen, the Mongols, and against the Tibetans. The device was one familiar to the Chinese tradition of "using barbarians to control barbarians."

Although the Monguors repeatedly proved themselves loyal defenders of the frontier, they had thereafter to contend against a counter-process. Any empire, in exact proportion to the efficiency of its centralized administration, prefers to exercise direct control of its frontiers rather than to depend on vassals who have some degree of local autonomy. Consequently, whenever the central power in China was strong, it tended to take advantage of local dissensions among its frontier vassals in order to deprive them of their privileges and to bring them under direct administration.

The policy of the Chinese empire on its frontiers had always been to absorb barbarians and to make Chinese of them if it could. Until 221 B.C. when the famous Ch'in Shih-Huang unified China for the first time, both Chinese and barbarians lived in tribes under a feudal regime. Ch'in Shih-Huang abolished this regime and organized China under *Chün* and *Hsien*. This was the first radical administrative revolution in China bringing "provincial" subdivisions under a "metropolitan" central administration. People living in the *Chün* and *Hsien* were considered to be Chinese. People still living under a tribal regime were considered to be "barbarians." At the beginning of the Han dynasty, in 202 B.C., the *Hsien* in which Chinese and barbarians lived together, governed by the same Chinese officials, were called *Tao*. Wu-Ti, emperor of the Han dynasty from 140-86 B.C., after his conquests which brought many new barbarian frontier tribes under Chinese rule, tried to make Chinese of them and to include them within the Chinese administrative regime of *Chün* and *Hsien*. His system did not work for long. Intermittent dynastic revolutions, and the numerous and bloody changes of dynasties which lasted for seven centuries, enabled the barbarians to reestablish their old feudal regimes along the northern frontiers. Under the T'ang dynasty, from A.D. 618 to 906, administrative units called Chi-mi Hsien were organized, in which the tribal chiefs served as Chinese officials but were allowed at the same time to administer their tribes

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624 according to their old customs. They received official appointments from the emperor, and had to bring tribute to him every year or three years, and were granted titles to indicate their feudatory status. The Yuan or Mongol dynasty (1280-1368) allowed non-Chinese "barbarians" to govern themselves according to their own tribal customs. The Ming (1368-1644) at first followed this precedent, appointing tribal chiefs and allowing them to govern their own tribes; but Chinese officials were sent to examine the tribal chiefs and their administration, troops, taxes and corvée systems from time to time. Later they appointed Chinese civil officials, whenever possible, attaching them to the tribal leader who held military command. Among remote tribes this mixed system did not work well, but the next step was to abolish the regime of the hereditary chiefs, hoping by this means to bring division in the tribe and to enfeeble it with every appointment of a new chief. Finally, when this system also did not work well, a ministerial order was given to avoid the word "hereditary" in the official request for the appointment of the new chief. By this device a son was prevented from succeeding his father, unless he presented a fixed sum to the high officials in order that they might overlook the formally enacted law. The Ch'ing dynasty continued the policy of the Ming.¹

It is clear from this historical sketch that the Chinese empire, whenever it was strong and enjoyed internal peace, tried to absorb autonomous barbarian territorial units and frontier chieftains. It tolerated them, only when and where it was unable to absorb them. The T'u-szu institution may, therefore, certainly be regarded as a device that the Chinese of the Ming dynasty adopted for the defense of the frontier only because they had to. Not confident of their ability to establish direct Chinese rule and administration in Mongolia, their intention was to build up a buffer between themselves and the Inner Asian world of Tibet, Turkistan, and Mongolia. They were content, therefore, to accept the submission of individual frontier tribes which were unable to combine with each other in a strength sufficient to threaten China, but were able to supply small, separate contingents of good warriors to screen and defend the frontiers. The chiefs of such tribes they were willing to reward with honors and military titles; they were equally ready, however, when no danger threatened from beyond the frontier, to depose these border chieftains, to bring their lands under direct Chinese taxation, and their subjects under immediate Chinese jurisdiction.

It is a remarkable fact that the institution should have survived for six centuries. The reason must be that the Ming dynasty was weak along the frontiers during its first decades, and again in the period from 1509 to its fall in 1644, and had to depend on auxiliaries. Under the Manchu dynasty the T'u-szu were valuable to the

¹ Lung Shun-sheng, Article in Chinese on the T'u-szu institution, in *Frontier Affairs* 2 (11-12), printed in Chungking during the war, 32nd year of the Republic, 1943.

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Manchu policy, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of preventing unity among the Eastern, Northern, and Western Mongols. In the nineteenth century, as the dynasty became less Manchu and more Chinese in its characteristics, the T'u-ssu were honored by the court in distant Peking, and were kept loyal and complacent by gifts and grants of honors—a policy ancient and widespread in the Orient.

Practically, the main factor in prolonging the survival of the institution was the feudal right of the T'u-ssu to prevent their subjects from leaving their territories, aided by the fact that because Chinese officials were unable to levy direct taxes on Monguors, life was on the whole somewhat better in Monguor territory than in territory under Chinese administration. As these factors later came to be equalized by the combination of the decreasing power of the T'u-ssu and their increasing exactions from their subjects, the most obvious phenomenon of the breakup of the T'u-ssu institution was the ability of subject Monguors to abandon their T'u-ssu with impunity and move into territory under direct Chinese control.

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Among the disruptive factors within the Monguor society the most powerful was the enrollment of Chinese and Tibetans in the Monguor clans. The Tibetans were culturally more akin to the Monguors than the Chinese, and easily adopted the Monguor costume, traditions, and language; but their matrilineal kinship system undermined the patriarchal clan structure of the Monguors. The Chinese, on the other hand, penetrated the Monguor society without being absorbed by it. When a Chinese asked for the protection of a Monguor T'u-ssu and enrolled in a Monguor clan, it was for the deliberate purpose of making the best of two worlds. His object was not to become a Monguor, but to escape both the taxes that he had to pay to the Chinese authorities and the taxes that, as a Chinese resident or trading in the Monguor community, he had to pay to the Monguor T'u-ssu. With their strong Chinese devotion to their own clans and clan ancestors, such Chinese were unwilling to go so far as to accept the clan name of the T'u-ssu. They tended to continue to regard the Monguors as barbarians, and to resist the adoption of the Monguor costume and language. At the same time they pushed themselves forward in the administration of the villages in which they lived and the clans to which they had become attached, and in so doing their influence was naturally in the direction of the Chinese way of doing things and the Chinese way of thinking.

The infiltration of the Chinese trend of mind into the Monguor family system and social structure was promoted most by those Chinese who became elders and chiefs of villages and officials and secretaries living in the immediate surrounding of the T'u-ssu, drafting and executing his orders to his subjects and discussing administrative topics with him. All official documents were written in Chinese, and in all administrative discussions and meetings the Chinese language prevailed.

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563 In cases where the Chinese authorities eventually deposed a T'u-ssu and took his territory and its population under direct Chinese administration, Chinese who had long been domiciled among the Monguors naturally became prominent people under the new dispensation. Thus it is plain that even though the Chinese civil officials were appointed by the T'u-ssu themselves, and not by the higher Chinese authorities, their influence promoted the process of the absorption of the Monguors by Chinese culture.

In the disintegration of the old Monguor society the personal example of the T'u-ssu themselves had a great effect. In the long period of relative peace and stability along the frontier under Manchu rule, the T'u-ssu ceased to receive fresh increments of prestige in their old capacity as military commanders and "wardens of the marches." They, therefore, naturally began to turn toward the standards of prestige accepted in the settled Chinese population. It became usual for T'u-ssu to marry the daughters of rich Chinese officials, or the half-Chinese daughters of other T'u-ssu who had married Chinese. There was thus introduced into the households of the T'u-ssu a Chinese "fine lady" point of view; these ladies despised the costume of the Monguor women as barbarous, they did not learn the Monguor language, their children received a Chinese home education and were sent to Chinese schools, and it thus became more and more common to find T'u-ssu who were unable even to speak with their subjects in their own language. Following the fashion set by their chiefs, many Monguors married the daughters of Chinese domiciled in the clan or Chinese from outside, and as this custom spread a great many Monguors in all the clans came to be ashamed of their Monguor extraction, repudiated their origin, and professed to be of Chinese origin.

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426 Still another disruptive factor was that many T'u-ssu, by mortgaging parts of their territories to Chinese merchants and to lamaseries, as security for loans, lost control over the revenue from land taxes. Under these conditions they still retained the power to requisition corvée labor services; but the exercise of this power emphasized the contrast between the privileges of the chiefs and the obligations of their subjects, and weakened the bonds of loyalty that had once united the nobility and the commoners.

• 624
661 In the meantime, the T'u-ssu institution was also becoming corrupt from within. As the administrative system of the clan was so closely geared to the institution of the corvée; or obligatory labor and services, and military power depended on unpaid conscription, only a few officials received allocations of land, the income from which served as salary. The majority of the minor officials depended on bribery for their cash income, there being unlimited opportunities for bribery in the collection of land and other taxes in the form of gifts from families and individuals who wanted to be excused from compulsory services. Since it was profitable to hold such

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661 an official position, there was bribery also in the competition for official appointments, and thus the whole administration of the Monguor clans became thoroughly corrupt. The taxable body came to be regarded as a melon to be sliced. Apart from what was absorbed in the lower ranks through corruption, all revenue collected was the perquisite of the T'u-ssu himself. Since nothing was done for public welfare, there were no schools, there was no budget for education, nor was there any expenditure for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of administrative buildings, because all such work was done through the levying of obligatory labor. Monguor carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans in addition to unskilled labor were available through the institution of obligatory labor services.

197
563 During the process of the disintegration of the Monguor society, it remained none the less a going concern up to a certain point. As long as the T'u-ssu retained more than a certain minimum of power and wealth, it was to the advantage of the Chinese officials to cooperate with them in certain ways. Up to this point, therefore, the individual Monguor, even though he suffered from the decay of the society of which he was a part, found it impossible to escape and strike out for himself. If he tried to leave his village and settle in Chinese territory, the Chinese officials would return him to the jurisdiction of his hereditary T'u-ssu. Once the wealth and influence of the T'u-ssu had declined below the minimum, however, it was no longer worth the while of Chinese officials to cooperate with them. At this point the Chinese began to abolish or override the privileges of the T'u-ssu, to take the Monguor districts under their direct administration, and to treat the Monguors in the same way as Chinese. An example of this changing attitude of the Chinese officials has already been referred to in the case of the impoverished Chao T'u-ssu who was unable to afford the expenses of investiture and promptly had his office discontinued. An earlier case was that of the Ch'en T'u-ssu, a supercilious and over-confident man who was so oppressive in his demands for taxes and corvées that he was impeached before the Chinese court by his own subjects, about the year 1875. His territory was confiscated, his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects, and he lost both the office and the title of T'u-ssu.

The Yeh T'u-ssu who did not fight the Muslim rebellion had his territory confiscated, was deposed, and he and his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects.

The latest news I have had from Hsining since the new Communist rulers of China have taken possession of that region is that the T'u-ssu institution has been abolished, that the Monguor women and men have been ordered to change their peculiar Monguor style of dressing and to adopt Chinese costume, and that orders have been given to establish schools in the Monguor villages under Chinese teachers devoted to the new ideology. The two-thousand-year-old Chinese instinct for absorb-

[835 cont.]

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782 procession moves from the temple directly to the nearest mountain and along the ridges across all the mountains of the entire village area. On each height the customary incense offering is burned by the two men, while the procession itself moves on. Towards midday, however, a halt is made on a height especially designated for this purpose. After the incense offering refreshments are taken. The people bring bread, tea, and soup here in advance. Then the procession marches on. Not until evening does one return to the temple. On the following day the people take the books back to the lama monastery.

[836]

Details

[562] Persons: Only male persons may take part in the procession, regardless of whether they are adults or boys, so long as they are strong enough to carry the heavy book and can pray the mani. The seed-supervisor determines how many persons each family must provide to make up the number of 108 book-bearers. If there are not enough people in one village, help is brought in from the neighborhood. Chinese are also admitted. -- In fetching and taking the books back to the monastery the number does not matter, so one person may carry two books. The Tibetan books are, to be sure, very large and heavy, since they are bound between two boards.

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782 The seed-supervisor is changed every year at the harvest thanksgiving offering. He is charged with taking care of all the religious celebrations of the year. He is not the village mayor, 624 however. Because his main concern is the seed, he is called 794 seed-supervisor. The supervisor of the past year helps him (2).

[171]
[797]

2. [Foreign text p. 838.] The Chinese, too, have such a religious supervisor who is chosen annually. Usually he is simply called t'ou-jen, that is, head man, or he is also called huei-t'ou, that is, meeting (festival) head; ch'ing-miao t'ou is also used,

[836 cont.]

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[797]

[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.]
but only for the period of the sowing
festival with the cult dances. -- The
Christian missionaries have taken
over this arrangement for their
ecclesiastical celebrations and folk
festivals. Thus, besides the com-
munity mayors there are also special
supervisors who, for instance, organ-
ize the festival for processions or at
Easter, accommodate the guests,
slaughter the festival sheep, etc.

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It is not absolutely necessary for there to be several
soothsayers. If a village has several, however, they must all
appear. If it has none at all, then it invites at least one from
outside. A lama or a Bon priest is never invited.

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Time: The time for the procession around the field is
determined by the soothsayer at the pole-goat offering in the
spring (aradzian) on the thirteenth day in the fifth month. The
procession itself must always be in the seventh month, when the
seed is developing ears, because the greatest danger for the
coming harvest is precisely at this time on account of the many
and big storms during this month (3). The time is also often

3. [Foreign text p. 838.] Cf.
the sections, "Mountain Sheep-
offering" and "Pole-goat."

determined in the lamasery. Since, of course, there are many
villages that want to hold the procession, it may happen that two
villages set the same time. Therefore the seed-supervisor goes
to the monastery a month in advance and inquires when the books
are available. The day is determined accordingly. -- It is
usually calculated that the ceremony will last three days, one
day for fetching the books, one for the procession, and one for

[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor: tōrōdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.

Trumpet: dōñ; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.

Cymbals: nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rēbuogē (?).

ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.

Flags: ch'i-tzu (Chin.).

Books: luān = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.

Book-bearers: luān rēgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

* See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table.

[254 cont.]

4. Lamaism

779 The preceding accounts have repeatedly demonstrated
792 how great an influence Lamaism exerts upon the people. As
the latest form it has also most strongly penetrated the entire
religious life; it offers the people a large number of gods and
saints; it gives them the mani-trees, prayer mills, treasure urns,
chorten chambers, central forts, and obos; they have it to thank
for a considerable part of the world-view. To be sure, one must
differentiate the ecclesiastical Lamaism of the monasteries and
monks from the popular Lamaism, which in its watered-down
customs remains unburdened by complicated doctrines and
tantristic rites. This popular Lamaism, however, would be
unimaginable without the strong support and the permanent
effect of the monasteries, which are already so closely linked
with the people because their community is constantly renewed
from the families of the people. An important piece of the religi-
792- ous picture would therefore be lacking if one did not at least
in hasty strokes characterize the monastery, which for the Tujen
of that region is their spiritual center. -- The relationships to
Kumbum will be passed over, although they are not to be
underestimated. One merely needs to recall that it was a Chi-
t'u-szu (prince) who at the beginning of the eighteenth century
through his personal pledge preserved Kumbum from Chinese
revenge and destruction, so that his clan until the most recent
• [624] times enjoyed monastic protection and the princes (T'u-szu)
themselves on their visits were received by the lamas on their
knees; in this connection, cf. Schulemann, p. 179.

[103] The name of the Tujen monastery dGon-luñ is Tibetan.
dgon (pronounced gon) means literally "solitude, hermitage."

[192] In the figurative sense it has become the established expression
for "monastery" (viñāra), because a monastery must be at least
1,000 steps away from any human habitation; cf. Ch. Das,
p. 275; luñ means "valley, district." Thus, dGon-luñ is best
rendered as "monastery-valley" or "monastery-district" or simply
[346] "monastery," for a lama monastery should not be imagined as

A second fact is encountered in a publication of Ma Fu-hsiang.³⁷ For many years he was the most prominent official of Hsining engaged with Tibetan and Mongol affairs. Later, he became governor of Suiyüan Province and a member of the Meng-Tsang Yüan in Nanking. The passage from the publication states:

More than 100 li southeast of Hsining, on the territory of the 'Ten Tribes,' is the Ami chü-lu mountain upon which was built the monastery of Sha-ch'ung which had more than 1,000 lamas. It was there that Tsong khapa had his hair clipped [entered religion], and remained for more than 10 years, starting his studies and religious life, before he went to Tibet (p. 198).

In 1906 the Chinese started digging for gold in the sacred mountain. The lamas, opposed to the digging, fought and two men were killed. The governor of the province ordered punishment to be imposed upon the lamasery with ruthless severity. Ma Fu-hsiang, being acquainted with the Tibetans, sought to settle the question amicably and went to Sha-ch'ung. The rebelling lamas and 1,000 soldiers of the "Ten Tribes" were determined to fight the Chinese troops. During the long period of discussion, the head of the lamasery repeated over and over that the lamasery and the mountain were hallowed places, because it was there that the founder of the Yellow Church had clipped his hair and remained for more than ten years. He protested that by digging at these spots the "artery" of the Yellow Church would be damaged, and the ruin of its religion be made inevitable (p. 190). Finally, as always in the Orient, a way was found to settle the case, by promising that no more digging would be done on the Sacred Mountain; but on the territory of the "Ten Tribes" digging would be allowed (p. 193). This fact gives evidence of the deep-seated conviction among the Tibetans about the veracity of the tradition and infers the existence of the lamasery at the time of the Yüan period (1280-1367). More traditions exist about monasteries having been built during the Yüan period, as related by the lamas, but they are vague and no names or specific places are indicated nor do ruins exist. However, it is not impossible that the traditions point to the hermitages noted in the *Blue Annals*. The building of the big monastery of Ta fo-ssu by one of the important T'u-ssu clans reveals the fact that Lamaism was a living entity among the T'u-ssu and their Monguors. Is it not too far-fetched to suppose that among the T'u-ssu only the Li T'u-ssu were Lamaist, since it is well known that the Ch'i and Lu T'u-ssu in 1644 were proprietors of monasteries constructed by them, although we do not know when they were constructed.³⁸ Besides, the facts that the monastery of Goorongbzan existed near Sha-ch'ung, and that in the beginning of the Ming a board of lamas was established, suggest the assumption that in Huang-chung during the Yüan period there probably must

³⁷ Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng Tsang Chuang-k'uang*, Nanking, Chung-Hua yin-shu kung-ssu, 1931.

³⁸ *Annals of Hsining*, ch. 34, p. 30.

5:Schram

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AE9 Monguor AE9

[For additional information on t'u-ssu, see category 116,
pp. 72-114.]

PREFACE

121 This third and last part of the study about the Monguors primarily intends to present the history of the Monguor clans in Huangchung during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, based on the *Annals* of Hsining and the *Annals* of Kansu.

In order to make the history understandable, it has had to be put in the historical framework of the Huangchung country in which it evolved during five centuries.

In Ming times it is mostly the history of inroads into the country by Tibetans and Mongols; during Ch'ing times it is the history of the revolts of Mongols, Tibetans and Mohammedans, which several times ruined the country. Revolts and invasions were fought by Chinese troops unequal to coping with the situation, aided by the Monguor troops.

Part III is the history of the Monguor t'u-szu clans,¹ called not only to defend their own country in combination with the Chinese army, but also to participate with the Chinese armies in wars in the provinces of Liaotung, Shensi, Shansi, Szechwan, and Yunnan, in Mongolia proper, and in the Tunhuang regions in Turkistan.

The hardships the Monguors endured during these five centuries were terrific, but their faithfulness toward the empire stood as strong as a rock, and is nowhere equally encountered among tribes which had submitted and pledged allegiance to the empire. However, this is overlooked in the official history. The number of Monguor soldiers who died in the wars is not known, but it is known that in each of the Monguor clans one or more of the chiefs died on one or another field of battle. The glorious military achievements of the Monguors are many.

The history of these five centuries is also the history of the development of the country and its thorough Sinization. The Monguors who had once controlled much of this country saw Chinese officials gradually take into their hands its civil and military administration, trying to relegate them to their own poor country. The Monguors felt that they were barbarians, but they admired the Chinese civilization and aspired to share its benefits. These five centuries are the time of the Sinization of the Monguors, which started with their chiefs, as among all the nomads. The boys of the

[622
624] ¹A t'u-szu was the "local chief" of a clan who had been appointed to his office by the sovereign state of which the Monguor clans were quasi-feudal frontier dependants. When the Ming dynasty invested a Monguor clan chief with the title of T'u-szu he became a Chinese official while continuing to be also the chief of his clan. The institution of t'u-szu was one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal groups on the frontier of the Empire. See Louis M. J. Schram, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier*. I. Their origin, history, and social organization, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 45-52, 1954 (hereafter referred to as *Monguors I*).

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is not recorded. Friction between Uighurs and Shat'o? Not room enough in Tung Ku for the herds? A device to increase the military power of the myriarch?

It is also noted that twelve Pai-tieh tribes and others were controlled by the three Shat'o officials Li, Na, and Chi, who guarded the country 30 li south and west of Hsining. To these three Shat'o chieftains who controlled their own Shat'o subjects, the Pai-tieh tribes and others had been entrusted by the Mongols. Probably they were Uighurs, for they were moved from the Tung-ku region also, and it is noted that their customs and clothes and adornments were the same as those of the western Ch'iangs of the myriarch.

It is further noted that the Shat'o official Li Nan-ko originally controlled the tribes of Tung Ku and the Hula tribes. Probably being a prominent and powerful chieftain, he had enrolled among his Shat'o subjects these Uighur tribes, at the time they fled from Kanchow. At the same time it is recorded that the t'u-ssu Ah, Chao, Yeh, Kan, and Chu controlled the Lu-erh-chia tribes and others, which were in the main similar in customs, clothing and adornments, according to the *Annals*.

It is noted (Monguors I: 56) that only one large group of Chinese is known to have enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans. The group bears the surname of Pao and is usually called the Yuan Pao group. They are subjects of the Lu t'u-ssu. We were at a loss to explain satisfactorily the name Yuan Pao. The fact had been noted above that the strong Lung K'o tribe, with its 120,000 people, had received, in 1071, from the Sung emperor the name Pao for its faithfulness toward the dynasty. Is it not possible that, during the period of troubles, which lasted for nearly two centuries, the clan disintegrated, that a group moved to Huangchung and lost its language, conserving the name Pao, but, knowing that they were Uighurs, that they preferred to be enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans, as so many Uighurs during the Yuan period? Because this had happened during the Yuan period, they are still called the Pao group of the Yuan time, Yuan Pao chia.

It seems conclusively that these tribes were Uighur tribes which, during the Mongol period, had been divided in small units and entrusted to these petty military officials, and appointed as guardians of definite territory and mountain passes in Huangchung in order that they might be able to defend the country more easily.

SETTLEMENT OF UIGHURS AND SHAT'O IN EAST KANSU

The preceding notes explain the settlement of only a relatively small number of Uighurs. But where has the remainder of the several ten thousands of Uighurs been settled? Since the very important Lung K'o tribe was settled in East Kansu, and another Lung-po tribe, is rooted in the same region, and on the map a

[P.17(A)]

The Ko-tsa tribe, also a tribe of tent-dwellers, lived east of the Tsa-tsa tribe, and southwest of the city of Ku Shan. The tribe numbered 400 families (*Annals of Hsining* 16: 4a). 175^x
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The Ssu-kuo-mi tribe, also tent dwellers, lived in a territory situated 150 li south of Hsining, on the borders of the Yellow River. It was divided into two tribes (*Annals of Hsining* 16: 5b).

1386 MARKS A NEW ERA IN HUANGCHUNG 175^x 653 701 331

According to the *Annals of Hsining* 25: 1a; 9: 15b, Keng Ping-wen was sent to build the city of Hsining with appropriate circumvallations, using troops from all the commanderies of Shensi. The size of the city had to be reduced to half of its former size, with four watch towers on the corners, nineteen more on the walls, and four gates. The note concerning the use of troops of all the commanderies of the province of Shensi seems to point to the fact that few troops and laborers were available in Huangchung in 1386, and that the former city was too extensive, inconvenient for defense, and probably in bad condition. Keng Ping-wen was ordered to build seven relay stations where official couriers could find horses ready to forward the orders without delay to the upper administration, and also five storehouses for provisions, drill fields for the soldiers, and administrative buildings. Four relay stations were built in an eastern direction covering a distance of 220 li, connecting Hsining with the northeastern part of Kansu. One relay was built in Ku Shan, 160 li south of Nien-Pei in the region of the three tribes which had surrendered in 1380. He also built the fortified city of Nien Pei with a Ch'eng-huang temple (spirit protector of the city) (*Annals of Hsining* 14: 16a). A Wen Miao (temple for Confucius) had been built in Hsining and a temple for the spirit protector of the city, for the emperor had already, in 1370, ordered these temples to be built in all the cities of the empire.

These few data suggest that the Monguors saw the situation changing in Huangchung after they had surrendered in 1371. In 1372 Hsining had been created a commandery and consequently Chinese officials had been appointed very soon. Without indicating the date of the appointments, the annals (*Annals of Hsining* 23: 5b), note that the administration of Huangchung was controlled by two major officials, a civil and a military. The Fen-chou-tao, who resided not in the unimportant Hsining, but in Liangchow, controlled a large area, and the Feng-hsiun-tao who resided in Kan-chow controlled the six granaries, the irrigation canals, the finances of the administrative organs and the farming colonies for the whole of Kansu. Only in 1428, a hundred years later, was the civil and military governor of Huangchung Ping-pi-tao appointed with residence in Hsining. Chapter 24, 14a records without 175^x
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[24]

against them, under the command of General Ch'u Fu, who blindly rushed into an ambush where his troops were annihilated. The emperor, in order to avenge the failure and redeem the honor of the empire, himself led an expedition against Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai on March 15, 1410. Pen-chia-shih-li suffered a crushing defeat and escaped with a few soldiers, and a severe blow was then administered to A-lu-t'ai.¹⁷ The emperor was back in Peking September 15, 1410. He had ordered the Monguor t'u-ssu to join the expedition.

T'u-ssu Li Yin, son of the late Li Nan-ko mustered the t'u-ssu and their troops. They participated in the expedition under his command. Among them are noted T'u-ssu A (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 49b), T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 48b), T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 51a), T'u-ssu Ch'eng (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 35a), T'u-ssu Na (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 50b), and T'u-ssu Lu. The entire group fought in both battles against Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai. T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu shih chieh, died on the field of battle fighting A-lu-t'ai. On that occasion to the clan of T'o Huan, prince of An Ting, was granted the name of Lu by the emperor, as reward for its devotion to the dynasty.

In 1411 T'u-ssu Lu Hsien joined the expedition commanded by the eunuch Wang An against Mongol tribes roaming in the region of Hsi Liang (north Kansu). The years 1411 and 1412 were times of intermittent forays by splinter groups of the defeated Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai erupting from Mongolia in the Liangchow and Kanchow regions. In 1412 two Chinese commanders, Sung Hu and Li Lin, had been appointed to repel the invasions and several t'u-ssu lent a hand: Li Yin (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 46a-b), Chou (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 51b), Ch'i (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 35a), Chi (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 42a), Hsin (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 53b), Wang (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 41a), and Na (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 39b). The invading groups were those of Lao ti han,¹⁸ of Ho lo ch'ih, Pa erh ssu and T'olot'ai. A severe blow was administered to them in Sha Chin Ch'eng (region of Liangchow) and they were pursued to T'ao-lai ch'uan (on the Tat'ong River) where 360 of their brigands were captured with their chiefs. The same year T'u-ssu Lu with commander Ch'eng hai took as prisoners Palima, chief of a group of invaders, and Shih T'ai, chief of another group in the region of Sung Shan I.

In the same year the Oirat chief Ma-ha-mu killed Pen-chia-shih-li and proclaimed as emperor of the Mongols, Delbek son of Pen-chia-shih-li. A-lu-t'ai, his foe, immediately tried to befriend the Chinese, and received the title of Prince of Karakorum. The granting of this title was as a red rag before a bull. Thereupon the enraged Oirat chief mustered his troops to invade China. The emperor himself decided to launch an expedition against the Oirat Ma-ha-mu. It was the age-

¹⁷ Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 28; Franke, *op. cit.*, 5-6.

¹⁸ A descendant of Aoluch'ih. Hambis, *op. cit.* 107: 122, 7.

on his second ascension to the throne, and to present¹⁷⁵
 his offices in these times of troubles which beset the⁶⁴⁸
 empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and some-
 what later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two^[647]
 thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region
 of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them.
 The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao^[657]
 Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started
 a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and
 devastating the country. The officials in the capital
 grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his
 troops to move. He was committed to prison and de-^[661]
 liberation concerning capital punishment was held. The
 emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his
 titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportu-
 nity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the
 Mongols in the regions of Yen-an and Swei-te (*Annals*
of Kansu 42: 28a; *Annals of Hsining* 27: 11b).

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of^{175x}
 Li Wen?⁶⁶²

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450-⁵⁷⁸
 1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs
 and the most prominent officials, some of them friends
 and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the
 secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions seethed
 with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting
 the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals.
 Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the
 reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung.

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching^{175x}
 Ti the capital besieged by Esen in 1449. During the⁶⁶⁸
 illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot pre-
 paring the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthronement
 of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his
 rivals and seven executions of the most prominent offi-
 cials followed. He was bestowed with the title of
 Pillar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky.^[677]
 It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven
 executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by
 Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later
 during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly
 for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace
 was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations
 in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, pro-^[687]
 claimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave
 jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read
 his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's
 meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor
 would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he
 would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng
 broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had
 previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung.
 The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let
 the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung
 reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poi-
 soned himself. His father was committed to jail and
 ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta-⁰⁰⁰

colony which the Mongols had handed down to the Ming. 175^x

HUANGCHUNG MONGUORS AND THEIR T'U-SSU DURING THE CH'ING DYNASTY (1644-1911)

The establishment of a new dynasty in China used to entail desperate times for a long period. The faithful Monguors with their t'u-ssu, after having defended the Ming dynasty to the end, pledged allegiance to, and cast their lot with the new Ch'ing dynasty, and again would prove their faithfulness. This time they had to fight at the side of the Manchu troops against the rebel Chinese officials of Kansu and all China, even though the power of the new dynasty was still problematical, but all of them remained heroically loyal and dependable to the end, suffering hardship and dying for the dynasty. Their faithfulness in such trying and tragic circumstances cannot but be admired. The history of the Monguors is a shining example of faithfulness seldom recorded in history. 175^x
648

The people in the northern provinces of China had, for many years, had a desperate time on account of the brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng and the invading groups of Manchus looting the country of its wealth. The despairing Ming emperor had hanged himself on April 25, 1644, and Li Tzu-ch'eng had entered the capital and proclaimed himself emperor. The Ming general Wu San-kuei defended the northern part of the great wall of the empire and the pass of Shanhaikuan against invading Manchu plunderers. Considering that the very existence of the empire was at stake and abhorring and loathing the savage brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng, Wu San-kuei invited Manchu troops to come over to annihilate the brigands and save the dynasty. However he had little thought that in making this compact he was sealing the fate of the Chinese empire. He opened the pass, and his troops in combination with those of the Manchus rushed to the capital which they entered on June 6, 1644. The brigand emperor Li Tzu-ch'eng had fled, but the Manchus proclaimed their own emperor and inaugurated their Ch'ing dynasty. On October 7 Li Tzu-ch'eng died. Jealousies and dissensions arose among the chiefs of the brigands and their impact was broken. Immediately Wu-San-kuei, leading his troops in concert with the Manchu army, pursued the brigands and achieved the surrender of the Chinese provinces. 175^x
648

At the end of 1645, T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien and Li T'ien-yu surrendered in T'ung Kuan to the Manchu Prince A-ki-ko, came back to Kansu, and called on General Meng Ch'iao-fang. They were rehabilitated and ordered to induce the surrender of the Monguor t'u-ssu. All the t'u-ssu submitted to the new dynasty (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 21a). Meng Ch'iao-fang immediately sent to Hsining Commanders Chiang San-chih (*Annals of Hsining* 26: 3b) and Chang Chi-yao [643]

The three biggest monasteries in the country were burned to the ground, also 7,000 houses and 17 villages of the subjects of the monastery of Erh Ku Lung. The whole country was a ruin. 175^x
792
579

In the second moon a crushing defeat was administered to bLo-bzang in Kokonor by General Yueh Chung-ch'i; 8,000 of his troops were killed in several encounters, and 10,000 surrendered. bLo-bzang fled riding a white camel. Another army led by Nien Keng-yao, consisting mostly of Monguor soldiers, burned the monastery of Shih Men Sse, where 600 lamas and Tibetans were killed and a huge quantity of weapons was found hidden.

In the third moon Yueh Chung-ch'i went again to Kokonor in pursuit of bLo-bzang, clearing the country of the scattered rebels. Arriving at their central camp unawares, he captured the mother of bLo-bzang, his sister-in-law, and a large number of people and horses. Eight princes submitted. The Kokonor troops had been dashed into rout and ruin.

In the fourth moon the Tieh Pu tribes from the region of Ho Chou, depending upon bLo-bzang, had started plundering while the troops were fighting in Kokonor. General Nien destroyed 41 of their villages and received the surrender of 37. Two thousand Tibetans had been killed and many had been captured with a number of cattle.

In the fifth moon General Yueh cleared the region between Chuang Lang and Liangchow from where the troops had incessantly been attacked. The Tibetan tribes and the lamas were defeated, several thousands of Tibetans captured, and the monasteries Chu Kung, Chiarto, Hoki, Nan Ch'ung, Simi and T'ien T'ang destroyed or burned. Then the army cleared the region of Cho Tze Shan. Most of the Monguor troops had participated in the punitive expedition.

In the tenth moon bLo-bzang was still not captured. An army was sent again to find him. Only one of his important officers and his wife were captured, but 33 princes submitted.⁹²

It is hard to understand the reticence concerning the destruction of the entire monastery of Kumbum and the killing of eight of their most prominent lamas, for whom eight stupas were later erected. Now the Chinese call Kumbum the "monastery of the eight stupas." Nothing is said either, in the *Annals* of Kansu, concerning the beheading of two Living Buddhas (Monguors I: 34-37; II: 25, 26). 175^x
792

THE T'U-SSU HAD PARTICIPATED IN QUELLING THE REVOLT

T'ü-ssu Ch'i Tsai-hsuan in 1723 had guarded the Ta Hsia rapids with his troops, in order to impede fleeing lamas and Tibetans from spreading the revolt 175^x
624

⁹² *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52-58; 42: 24a. *Annals* of Hsining 160-b. bLo-bzang had fled to the Jungars, where his friend Tsewang Rabdan protected him.

in the eastern countries. In 1724 he had participated in the destruction of the monastery of Erh Ku Lung, and the defeat of the savage lamas and their subjects. With General Yueh Chung-ch'i he fought in Cho Tze Shan (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 46a) and escorted the food transport for the troops, which was incessantly attacked by the rebels in the mountains. 175x 624

T'u-ssu Li Shen-ch'eng in 1723, with 300 of his troops, guarded the passes in the Shih Ta mountains, and defeated several groups of Tibetans. In 1724 he administered several blows to the Tibetans in the Cho Tze Shan region, who attacked the food transport escort (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 47a). The Chiliarch Li Hung-tsung, uncle of T'u-ssu Li Shen-ch'eng, and Li Wen-p'eng, uncle of T'u-ssu Li Yao-ch'eng, fought the rebels in the southern valleys of Hsining, in 1723 in the eleventh moon, and died in action with 14 of their Monguor soldiers (*Annals of Hsining* 28: 18b).

T'u-ssu Chao in 1724 fought in Cho Tze Shan (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 49a).

T'u-ssu Kan Kuo-cheng guarded the ferry on the Yellow River in 1723 (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 51a).

T'u-ssu Yeh Yao-ch'eng guarded the passes in the Shih Ta mountains in 1723 and fought the Tibetans in Pa P'an Shan and in Cho Tze Shan. He escorted the food transport as far as T'ien T'ang Ssu along impassable trails. He helped in the destruction of the T'ien T'ang monastery (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 53).

In 1723 T'u-ssu Li Yao-ch'eng guarded the passes in Shih Ta Shan and fought in Cho Tze Shan and at the T'ien T'ang monastery (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 53a).

The participation of T'u-ssu Lu Hua-lin in the Lhasa expedition has been noted.

T'u-ssu Lu Chan, in 1723, guarded the Lao Ya Hsia with T'u-ssu Ch'i Tsai-hsuan. In 1724 he fought with his nephew Lu Wei-fan in Cho Tze Shan (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 58b).

The Salar T'u-ssu Han Ta-yung quelled the revolt of Tibetans in the Hsun Hua region in 1723. In 1724 he followed General Yueh Chung-ch'i in the expedition to Cho Tze Shan, participated in the destruction of the Monastery of Simi, and fought the Tibetan tribe Hsieh Erh Ssu (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 28b).

The revolt, quelled with draconian severity in less than a year, had been the ruin of Huangchung. Not a single valley in the country was encountered through which the troops did not pass, fighting or pursuing the enemy. The number of villages destroyed and burned, and the number of stolen cattle were countless. The number of Tibetans, Mongols and lamas killed rates terribly high. The war was one of the bloodiest. All who made a stand were killed. All the provisions and properties of the people had disappeared. All the lama-series were destroyed or burned down. The depredation of the country was wicked and ruthless, the destitution of the people tragic. Huangchung, which during the previous centuries had so many times suffered 175x 727

Then the governor notified the lamas about the confiscation of their territories and subjects, and informed them about the revocation of the titles of Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih granted to the most prominent among them by the Ming emperors, and an order was given to hand to the Chinese officials the diploma of the promotion granted to them by the emperor. 175^x
648
[34]

Most of these titles had been granted to lamas who had induced tribes to submit, and to move into the depopulated Huangchung, especially in the first century and a half of the Ming. At that time these lamas belonged to the Red sect, were married, and lived among the tribes they had induced to submit, but not in monasteries. They had received personally large proprietaries from the emperor, with a document written in their name, and a title. This had been the origin of the Karwas and Nang so (Monguors II: 18, 19). The son of the lama succeeding to the father, inherited the property and the title and was considered to be a lama. This institution lasted until 1723-1724. The entire lama family during all these years had earned a wealthy living, free from taxes and corvees, and received some taxes from the tribesmen. The *Annals* of Hsining noting this fact, and the confiscation of the territories and subjects of the lamas, adds jubilantly, "and so in one day these unjust conditions, existing for centuries, were abolished" (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 22b). 175^x
792

In the same year, for the very first time in history, officials were appointed by the Szechwan and Kansu provinces to fix the boundaries of both provinces in the Kokonor region, and to designate which among the Tibetan tribes should depend upon each of the provinces (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 13a). 175^x
624

During the years 1733-1745 orders were repeatedly issued for the building of more graneries in the cities and most important strongholds all over the country, for the amount of grain formerly collected by the lamas and the Khoshot princes was now collected by the officials and had to be stored (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 23b, 25a). [344
251]

In 1745 the *Hsining Annals* were printed by Yang Yin-ch'u. The first *Annals*, only two small volumes, contained many errors which were amended. 175^x
653

In 1759 there was famine in the prefecture of Chuang Lang. Grain was loaned to T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng to help his subjects. The next year also was one of bad crops. Again grain was loaned for distribution to each of the Monguor families of the t'u-ssu for which restitution was to be made after three years (*Annals* of Kansu 2: 29b).

The commanderies of Tatung and Kuei Te became subprefectures in 1761 with complete civil and military administrations (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 4, 11b, 14). In Pe-ta and Yung nan a brigadier general and a lieutenant colonel with strong garrisons had already been appointed in 1725, after the revolt of bLo-bzang tan-chin (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 71a). 175^x

Where were the Monguor t'u-ssu during the revolt? 175^x

The defeat of the troops of T'u-ssu Lu Fan has been 709
related. He was rewarded later by the honor of wear- 624
ing the double peacock feather (*Annals of Kansu* 42:
57).

The five outer Salar groups, adherents of the new 175^x
religion, inhabited Pa Yen Jung situated south of Nien- 648
pei. The danger of inroads on and the plundering of [795]
these groups had to be forestalled. Lu Chen-hsien,
member of the t'u-ssu clan, guarded with the troops
the region of Hsiang T'ang and Huei Ho Tung (*An-
nals of Kansu* 42: 60).

T'u-ssu Kan San Yuen-pao guarded the city of Pa
Yen Jung (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Chou Lin guarded the passes of Ch'i Shih
near Pa Yen Jung and Feng T'ai Shan (*Annals of
Kansu* 42: 51). T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the
city of Nienpei and was later called to Pa Yen Jung
(*Annals of Kansu* 42: 46a-b).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai helped guard the city of Ti-tao
in East Kansu with 200 Monguor troops (*Annals of
Kansu* 42: 48a). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the
Hsiao Hsia pass near Hsining (*Annals of Kansu* 42:
37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu who had fought in Lan- [703]
chow and recovered Ho Chou, was rewarded by the
honor to wear the Blue Plume or Crow feather, and
received the button of the second degree, worn on the
cap (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 43b).

The Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Lan-
chow and was rewarded with the same honor as the
former Salar t'u-ssu (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 44a).

Huangchung had been spared from inroads and
devastation.

YEN CH'A HUI REVOLT

After the death of Ma Ming-hsin in Lanchow in 175^x
1781, T'ien Wu, a fanatic *ahong*, leader of the new sect 795
in Fu Ch'iang in East Kansu, was proclaimed chief of 648
the new sect. At that time the Chinese officials were 579
brutally murdering the entire families of the rebels, 748
and rumors were spread that all the Mohammedans of the
old and new sects were to be killed. Already in 1782,
in Shih Feng Pao, in the T'ung Wei district, T'ien Wu
had started digging entrenchments and moving the
wives and children to strongholds in the mountains,
weapons had been prepared and flags, etc. Around
Ku Yuen and Fu Ch'iang encounters continued unabated
between the army and the rebels, who grew stronger
and stronger by the accrual of countless adherents
of the old sect. In 1784 T'ien Wu was wounded in a
fight in Fu Ch'iang and died. The rebels, beaten in
many encounters, fled to the Shin Feng Pao moun-
tains where they finally were exterminated, and 3,000
wives and children brutally murdered. The revolt
was quelled.

During the revolt T'u-ssu Lu Fan had helped guard 75^x
the city of Lanchow (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 57a) and 579

and started plundering again. They were pursued, and 175^x
 3,000 among them were killed. The remaining Salars 795
 fled to Pa Yien Jung and the surrender of the Hsining 579
 Mohammedans was accepted. The Hsining revolt was 628
 quelled. The Mohammedans had suffered tremendous
 losses.

In 1873, in the first moon, the troops recovered the
 subprefecture of Tai'ung and cleared the country in the
 same ruthless way. For many months the army had
 tried to recover the city of Suchow, situated on the
 trade road to Turkistan. In the Suchow area the Mo-
 hammedan population was very dense. Troops were
 sent from Lanchow and Hsining, but did not succeed
 in the action. Finally, in October, Tso Tsung-t'ang
 himself arrived with more troops from Lanchow. In
 November the city was recovered, the country cleared,
 and the Mohammedan population of the whole country
 massacred.

The same year the cities of Hsun Hua and Ho Chou
 were recovered and the country cleared. The number
 of the slaughtered Mohammedans in the cities and the
 surrounding villages was tremendous. Huangchung
 and East Kansu were pacified. Both Chinese and Mo-
 hammedans had borne the brunt of the revolt, and
 suffered equally.

During this last revolt, 1860-1873, a relatively few [24] •
 number of notes are encountered concerning the role
 played by the t'u-ssu and their troops. The fact is
 quite understandable. Mohammedan groups were run-
 ning all over the whole country, and the forces of the
 regular army were insufficient to cope with the situation
 on a large scale. The t'u-ssu had to protect their own
 strongholds and fortified villages which sheltered their
 subjects, in the way the officials had to protect the cities
 with their population. Huangchung had suffered ter-
 ribly and the destroyed villages and cities told the tale.
 The Monguors had had a bad time, but comparatively
 few had lost their lives, having hid and resisted the
 rebels in the strongholds of their t'u-ssu. The loss of
 cattle, houses, etc., was tremendous.

For the second time dissension concerning the old
 and new religion had caused a terrible revolt. The
 fanatic Salars, as well as the Chinese Mohammedans,
 had been responsible for all the harm suffered in Kansu
 and Shensi. However, every time their revolt had been
 on the brink of disaster, both groups forgot their dis-
 sension about religion and together fought fanatically
 their common enemy, the army of the hated Chinese.

REVOLT OF MOHAMMEDANS IN 1895-1896

During the revolt of the Mohammedans in 1860-
 1873, many cities and villages of Huangchung had been
 devastated and many, many thousands of Chinese and
 Mohammedans killed. During the following twenty-
 two years, the country had more or less recovered from
 the disaster, when a new revolt of the Mohammedans

ssu, to which was attached a lama chaplain, who every day offered incense in the temple and also in the ancestor hall to the ancestors of the Lu family. 175x
114

T'O HUAN, FOUNDING ANCESTOR OF THE CLAN

According to the Chronicles of the clan, T'o Huan is its founding ancestor. He was a member of the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty, with the title of Prince of An Ting, since 1313 (Section 1, Preface. Section 3, Biography of T'o Huan, *Yuan Shih*, Chapter 108, 3rd section 24, 27a-b). 175x
614

In 1368 the Ming emperor entered the capital of the Yuan, whose emperor had fled to Ying Ch'ang with the imperial family. T'o Huan, prevented from accompanying the emperor, arrived in Kansu in 1369. At the end of 1369 or the beginning of 1370, General Teng Yu was sent to invite him to see the emperor. He submitted to the Ming, and was ordered to muster his troops, and he followed General Su Ta in the war against K'uo-k'uo Timur, the last general of the Yuan. In 1375 he helped General Pu Yin to beat the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa (Dorjibal). He was invited to court to receive the congratulations of the emperor, but on account of illness he could not obey the order. He died in 1376 (Section 3, biography of T'o Huan, Section 2 and beginning of Section 3, biography of Lu Yung ch'ang and letter of concubine Yang to the emperor).

His oldest son Ah-shih-t'u succeeded him, became blind, and died in 1377. His second son, Kung-pu shih-tieh succeeded in 1378, and is recorded as the ancestor of the second generation. He fought brigands in 1403 and followed the expedition of the emperor against Ah lu t'ai in 1410, and died on the field of battle.

His oldest son Shih-chia succeeded him in 1412 and is recorded as the ancestor of the third generation, with the name Hsien. In 1414 he received from the emperor the name Lu. From that time on, the clan was called Lu clan (T'o Huan was a Mongol belonging to the Borjigin clan of Chingis, he had no family name).

The Chronicle records the history of T'o Huan, the founding ancestor of the clan, and that of the ancestors who succeeded him as chiefs of the clans. It does not pay attention to the other t'u-ssu of the clan, or to groups which branched off, even by sons of T'o Huan, or by members of the principal or lateral branches.

T'o Huan is recorded as having been appointed by the emperor chief of his tribes and controller of the territory he occupied during the Yuan time. [48
247]

The *Annals* of Ping Fan (1739) record only the title of Ping-chang cheng-shih of T'o Huan, without noting the title, Prince of An Ting, granted to him by the emperor, although this important fact should have been known among the Lu Monguors. Lu Kuang-tsu, renowned scholar, had already composed his *Chronicles* between 1602 and 1607 in Lien Ch'eng. The *Annals* bypass Ah-shih-t'u who had succeeded T'o Huan in 1377 and died in the same year, and record Kung- [114]